

Albert F. Shenck, of Lancaster, Lancaster County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the Eighth supervisor's district of Pennsylvania.

George R. Scull, of Somerset, Somerset County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the Thirteenth supervisor's district of Pennsylvania.

Frank M. Fuller, of Uniontown, Fayette County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the Seventeenth supervisor's district of Pennsylvania.

James A. McMillin, of Harlansburg, Lawrence County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the Nineteenth supervisor's district of Pennsylvania.

Henry A. Reed, of Sunbury, Northumberland County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the Tenth supervisor's district of Pennsylvania.

Charles A. Durant, of Wilkesbarre, Luzerne County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the Sixth supervisor's district of Pennsylvania.

James M. Esler, of Tarentum, Allegheny County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the Eighteenth supervisor's district of Pennsylvania.

John R. Edwards, of Scranton, Lackawanna County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the Fourth supervisor's district of Pennsylvania.

Charles H. Ainey, of Montrose, Susquehanna County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the Fifth supervisor's district of Pennsylvania.

Harry D. Beaston, of Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the First supervisor's district of Pennsylvania.

James M. Barnett, of New Bloomfield, Perry County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the Ninth supervisor's district of Pennsylvania.

William T. S. Rollins, of Seat Pleasant, Prince George County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the Third supervisor's district of Maryland.

B. Gootee Stevens, of Williston, Caroline County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the Second supervisor's district of Maryland.

James L. Allison, of Punxsutawney, Jefferson County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the Fourteenth supervisor's district of Pennsylvania.

Jonathan S. Willis, of Milford, Kent County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the supervisor's district of Delaware.

Adolphus H. Harrington, of Frederick, Frederick County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the Fourth supervisor's district of Maryland.

Oscar L. Quinlan, of Baltimore, Baltimore County, to be a supervisor of the Twelfth Census for the First supervisor's district of Maryland.

POSTMASTERS.

Nannie H. Savage, to be postmaster at Monticello, in the county of Drew and State of Arkansas.

Edward S. Parnell, to be postmaster at Junction, in the county of Union and State of Arkansas.

Joseph P. Balmat, to be postmaster at Conway, in the county of Faulkner and State of Arkansas.

John M. Haggerty, to be postmaster at Houma, in the county of Terrebonne and State of Louisiana.

Louis Desmarais, to be postmaster at Opelousas, in the county of St. Landry and State of Louisiana.

Leon M. Carter, to be postmaster at Shreveport, in the county of Caddo and State of Louisiana.

Joseph Crow, to be postmaster at Omaha, in the county of Douglas and State of Nebraska.

John C. Burch, to be postmaster at Wymore, in the county of Gage and State of Nebraska.

George H. Woolman, to be postmaster at Lake Charles, in the county of Calcasieu and State of Louisiana.

John M. Jones, to be postmaster at Clay Center, in the county of Clay and State of Nebraska.

Leander H. Jewett, to be postmaster at Broken Bow (late Broken-bow), in the county of Custer and State of Nebraska.

Samuel B. Hall, to be postmaster at Ashland, in the county of Saunders and State of Nebraska.

Carl E. Ericson, to be postmaster at El Campo, in the county of Wharton and State of Texas.

David W. Barnhill, to be postmaster at Uvalde, in the county of Uvalde and State of Texas.

Henry C. Russell, to be postmaster at Schuyler, in the county of Colfax and State of Nebraska.

Frederick C. Grothaus, to be postmaster at Victoria, in the county of Victoria and State of Texas.

William H. King, to be postmaster at Whitewright, in the county of Grayson and State of Texas.

James Gipson, to be postmaster at Coleman, in the county of Coleman and State of Texas.

William C. Hurley, to be postmaster at Sulphur Springs, in the county of Hopkins and State of Texas.

Hermann C. Heilig, to be postmaster at Lagrange, in the county of Fayette and State of Texas.

Andrew J. Harrison, to be postmaster at Goldthwaite, in the county of Mills and State of Texas.

Paul Neubauer, to be postmaster at Floresville, in the county of Wilson and State of Texas.

William N. Merritt, to be postmaster at Nocona, in the county of Montague and State of Texas.

Julius Laux, to be postmaster at Flatonia, in the county of Fayette and State of Texas.

Isham Russell, to be postmaster at Winnsboro, in the county of Wood and State of Texas.

Frank H. Pierce, to be postmaster at Laredo, in the county of Webb and State of Texas.

Mary S. Parish, to be postmaster at Huntsville, in the county of Walker and State of Texas.

John S. Snook, to be postmaster at Caldwell, in the county of Bureson and State of Texas.

Joel B. Sharpe, to be postmaster at Brownsville, in the county of Cameron and State of Texas.

Philemon A. Schaefer, to be postmaster at Georgetown, in the county of Williamson and State of Texas.

Benjamin P. Gay, to be postmaster at Smithfield, in the county of Isle of Wight and State of Virginia.

William C. Ellett, to be postmaster at Blacksburg, in the county of Montgomery and State of Virginia.

George H. Sparenberg, to be postmaster at Big Spring, in the county of Howard and State of Texas.

George W. France, to be postmaster at Hoquiam, in the county of Chehalis and State of Washington.

John B. Cromwell, to be postmaster at Tacoma, in the county of Pierce and State of Washington.

Charles R. Bell, to be postmaster at Aberdeen, in the county of Chehalis and State of Washington.

William W. Clarke, to be postmaster at Milton, in the county of Rock and State of Wisconsin.

Ralph E. Arnold, to be postmaster at Fairchild, in the county of Eau Claire and State of Wisconsin.

John Stack, to be postmaster at Republic, in the county of Ferry and State of Washington.

Mary C. Darby, to be postmaster at Wilmington, in the county of New Hanover and State of North Carolina.

Frederic A. Meyer, to be postmaster at Boscobel, in the county of Grant and State of Wisconsin.

Emile C. Duval, to be postmaster at West De Pere, in the county of Brown and State of Wisconsin.

George A. Hibbard, to be postmaster at Boston, in the county of Suffolk and State of Massachusetts.

Philip H. Lybrook, to be postmaster at Winston-Salem (late Winston), in the county of Forsyth and State of North Carolina.

Emily W. Fagan, to be postmaster at Plymouth, in the county of Washington and State of North Carolina.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THURSDAY, December 14, 1899.

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN, D. D.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER.

Mr. McALEER, a Representative-elect from the State of Pennsylvania, appeared at the bar of the House and was sworn in by the Speaker.

MONTHLY ACCOUNTS OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration and passage of the bill which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the bill for the information of the House.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill to extend the time for examination of monthly accounts by bureaus and offices of the War Department.

Be it enacted, etc., That the time for examination of monthly accounts by the bureaus and offices of the War Department after the date of actual receipt and before transmitting the same to the Auditor for the War Department, as limited by section 12 of the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation act approved July 31, 1894, is hereby extended from twenty days to sixty days for the period of one year from the date of the passage of this act.

Mr. HULL. One word in explanation.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I hope the gentleman can show that there

is an immediate necessity for the passage of this bill. It modifies existing law, it has been to no committee, and has not been considered in the usual way, and unless there is a pressing emergency for the bill I do not think it ought to pass.

Mr. HULL. Unless there was a pressing emergency, there would be no excuse for offering it. I have copies of the letters from the Secretary of War and officers of bureaus asking for the immediate passage of the bill. The original letters were sent to the Speaker and from there were sent to the Committee on Military Affairs when appointed, and from that committee to the printer, so that the originals are not in my possession. The proposition is to reenact the law that was enacted on the 5th of last January, which extended the time for passing these accounts. The law expires on the 5th day of next January. We shall adjourn to meet on the 3d of January, and unless the act is passed the effect will be this: the accounts coming in from Manila, from Puerto Rico, and from Cuba and all parts of the Government where the Army is stationed will be tied up; and while it does not suspend the officer, it does prevent his transacting any further business until his accounts are passed.

So if we do not pass this bill the paymasters, the quartermasters, the commissaries, and all their bureaus will be held up until the accounts for the current month are passed. The Auditor for the War Department has notified the War Department that he will insist on a strict compliance with the twenty-day law. So unless we pass this bill it will be impossible for the paymaster to pay a regiment; it will be impossible for the commissary to furnish food; it will be impossible for the paymaster to furnish a tent or supplies of any kind until his accounts for that current month are passed. They could not even put on a large force of clerks to do it because they would be raw men.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I was about to ask if this bill made any increase in the amount that will be paid.

Mr. HULL. Not at all. By passing it it leaves the force just as it is. By not passing it, if they could utilize more clerks, it might be possible to get through in the twenty days.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I understood the gentleman from Iowa to say that he had conferred with the members of the minority of the Committee on Military Affairs in the last House, and that there was no objection on their part.

Mr. HULL. I did. I could not find the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Cox], but I conferred with the gentlemen from New York, from Ohio, and from Illinois.

Mr. JETT. The gentleman from Iowa called my attention to it yesterday morning, and from my standpoint I can see no objection to the passage of the bill, because I deem it necessary.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

There was no objection.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and accordingly it was read the third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. HULL, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

Leave of absence was granted to Mr. CAMPBELL for three weeks, on account of important business.

THE FINANCIAL BILL.

The SPEAKER. In accordance with the special order the House will resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 1, and the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. HEPBURN, will take the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the purpose of considering the bill H. R. 1. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Cox] is recognized for forty minutes.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, under the arrangement which has been made I believe I have had ceded to me forty minutes of time?

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

[Mr. COX addressed the committee. See Appendix.]

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Chairman, I am sufficiently modest to say that in addressing this honorable House I do not expect to change the sentiment of the House upon the pending bill. In fact, I know I will not be discourteous to any member if I say that no speech that has been made or will be made on either side of the Chamber on this question will have that effect.

The opinions of the different political parties of the House are firmly fixed, but it is our duty to speak to the American people on the issues that so vitally affect them, and speak plainly so that they may understand, for it is not for this Congress to decide issues finally, but it is for the people themselves.

I am forcibly impressed with the fickleness of political parties. Had the Republican party framed in its platform of 1896, three years ago, the declarations contained in the currency bill now before the House, no such bill would be here for consideration, for the Re-

publican minority would be so small in the House that it would be useless and ineffective, and instead of President McKinley occupying the high position that he now occupies, another gentleman would be in that place. I refer to the Hon. William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

I am profoundly astonished at the Republican party, both for their fickleness, insincerity, and want of conviction and for their lack of statesmanship in failing to see and know what is good for the people and what is wanted by the country. Only a few years ago President McKinley and his entire party were shouting and clamoring for both silver and gold, domestic or otherwise; a little later on they stood for international bimetallism, and now they are as devotedly advocating the single gold standard. The Republican party has taken all the views on the currency question. They have boldly advocated every position. They have traveled all the routes. They have begun at one end of the financial road and landed at the other. Can the people of the country afford to confide in a party whose views are so unfixed and changing? Is the Republican party so shortsighted as to grope along in the darkness, hoping to touch the right and popular chord?

Mr. Chairman, I am glad the issue has at last been made. I am glad to know that the Republican party has made its last running retreat; that they have taken their true stand on the financial question, hoisted their flag, the colors of which can not now be changed, and that they must leave it to be upheld or hauled down by the American people in 1900. This all-important question should be settled for all time to come, and the people only can settle it. The constant agitation and the changes of political policies have done commerce and business relations generally great harm, and the sooner the issue can squarely and fairly be met and determined the better it will be for the country. I am glad that the issue is boiled down to its last analysis and that the question has been made whether this Government shall adopt the single gold standard, pure and simple, or not. I invite the issue and willingly submit it to the American people.

Mr. Chairman, I strongly oppose the pending bill. I see no justification for it and no reason for its enactment except as a political measure. When the President now occupying his position in the White House came into power three years ago all of our currency was on a parity and every dollar was as good as any other dollar. The same is true to-day. Where is the difference? I ask gentlemen. Then the bill has no purpose save the one which has not been declared by gentlemen on the other side. The real purpose in the bill is to make the debts of the country, both governmental and private, payable in gold coin, and another purpose is to give to the national banks of the country greater and more far-reaching power.

Mr. Chairman, our gold is in no danger when domestic complications only afflict us. There is no danger that can arise from internal troubles with regard to it. We all know that our people do not care to handle gold for exchange or as pocket money. It is too heavy, too inconvenient. Gold is not wanted by the people. There is no better evidence of that fact than is to be found in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury himself, showing that it was necessary to issue gold certificates during the last year to meet the wants of the people and the wants of trade. There was not enough of paper money in circulation, and the Secretary of the Treasury acceded to the wishes and demands of the people throughout the country and issued gold certificates which were available for the purposes of trade.

Speaking, sir, for my own people, for the people of the State of Georgia, whom I have the honor, in part, to represent on this floor, I can say with absolute safety that they do not want to handle gold, because it is bulky, undesirable, and inconvenient in business transactions. Whenever currency has been shipped to the South to move our crops, it is not in gold, but it is in paper currency, available for use throughout the land, in all parts of it. Gold is not available; it does not pay to ship it; it is undesirable by the people and by the banks in Georgia, and undesirable to the sellers of our cotton crop. Therefore gold is not desired and is not used. What is the evidence that the people do not want gold as a money of circulation in the country? I think that fact is clearly shown by the condition of the Treasury at the present time, and the small quantity of gold in circulation amongst the people. When I tell you that we have in the Treasury millions upon millions of dollars of gold, more than we have ever had in years before, it is a conclusive proof that gold does not circulate amongst the people. It shows that they do not want it.

We talk of the "protection of the parity" of our metallic and other circulating money in this country. Mr. Chairman, that parity needs no protection from home disturbances and unsettled home forces. The only thing that can disturb that parity is an adverse balance of foreign trade to us.

Let us go back to 1893, when we had our great trouble with gold in this country, when gold was leaving the country, and there was serious apprehension in the minds of our financiers that we would have difficulty in meeting the obligations which

rested upon gold. What was the difficulty at that time? Why, then we had not only a home demand for gold, so to speak, but we found our reserve being rapidly destroyed by home over-speculation and the balance of trade throughout the world, which was against us in 1893 to the extent of many millions of dollars, thereby causing our gold to go abroad, while in 1892, the year previous, when the high-water mark of prosperity was reached, and the conditions were reversed and gold was in the Treasury, we find that the balance of trade in our favor that year was more than \$202,000,000.

In the year 1893, this great balance being against us, more than \$100,000,000 in gold flowed from this country. As I say, home panics and home troubles will not cause gold to leave us, and I dare say to-day—although I have no intention or desire to be considered an alarmist, but, on the other hand, would rather be always an upbuilder, because I always desire to see the country grow and go forward rather than go backward—I believe it to be true that we are upon the verge of a panic in the United States at this very day, and especially in the East. Go back and look at the clearing-house statements of the associated banks in New York City for the last ninety days.

The banks have been under a most tremendous strain. Money has loaned within the last sixty days, for one day, at as high a rate as 40 per cent per annum, and on many days it has reached a rate as high as 12 or 15 per cent per annum. What higher evidence could there be that those banks have been strained than the fact that within the last ninety days they have lost more than \$100,000,000 of deposits, and consequently have had to call in their call loans to the amount of more than \$100,000,000? They have loaned down to low-water mark. They have kept barely enough reserve balances to comply with the law. It appears that they have violated the law and gone below the legal reserve. What stronger evidence is needed that there is a great stringency among the associated banks of New York than that they have called upon the Secretary of the Treasury to come to their rescue, as he did come to their rescue by going to New York and purchasing \$25,000,000 worth of bonds within the last two weeks?

I see from yesterday's paper that the moneyed institutions of New York have called upon him further to anticipate the January interest and pay it out now, in order further to relieve the great strain pressing upon them. What is the cause of that? It is the same as in 1893—overtrading, overspeculation; but it comes from a different source at this time than it did in 1893. Then it was by the country at large, but that is not the fact now. There is no overspeculation in the South and West, but it is confined to the East. It comes from the organization of these great trust combinations which are forming. For what purpose do they form? For two purposes. They are not associating themselves together for the simple purpose of building up prices of commodities to force the great masses of the people to pay higher prices, but they have another object in view. They form these great organizations of capital and water their stock, largely for the purpose of getting upon the market and putting immense speculative fortunes into their pockets by means of these combinations.

These securities, amounting to billions of dollars, are now afloat in all our moneyed centers. They are being carried largely by the banks, by the insurance companies, and, in fact, by all moneyed institutions. And I will say, to the credit of these associated banks, that were it not for their kindness toward those large wild-cat trust organizations I dare say that many of them to-day would be broken down and we should have a panic all over this country such as we have never had in the history of the nation. Why, the banks of New York to-day are loaned down to their last dollar, and I can truly say that the South has nearly all of its money in the city banks of New York. It has ten dollars on deposit with the associated banks of New York where it owes those banks one dollar. Supposing this situation had come in the summer, when the West and the South needed this money? But the South and the West do not need it now, because they have sent their commodities into the market and our money has gone East.

Therefore the great absorbing element at the present time consists of these wild-cat trust organizations, whose stocks are known as industrial stocks. Now, suppose that with this terrible strain upon us the trade balance of the world was against us, as it was in 1893, and we should have to send gold abroad to pay the balance, I reiterate, we should have one of the greatest panics known in the history of this country. But that situation does not exist. On the other hand, I am proud to say, and it proves my theory, that the trade of the world is in our favor. Let me state that there are only about \$1,000,000,000 in gold in the entire world, and there is a great scramble among the nations of the world for this gold.

The money powers of the world, as soon as they see any indication of distress or weakness in a nation, begin to make inroads to acquire the gold of that nation. That was our situation in 1893. But as long as the trade balance is in our favor we are safe. In 1898 the trade balance in our favor amounted to the immense sum of \$617,432,676, and in 1899 it amounted to \$528,000,000. With

these immense trade balances in our favor this country is safe, and we never can have any such trouble as we had in 1893 in the way of demands for our gold from the outside. And, by the way, I want to say that I am proud of the fact that the South and the West contribute largely to the exports which go to make up that magnificent trade balance in our favor.

The South sends her cotton, that is worth from two to three hundred millions per annum; the West sends its wheat, creating the great trade balance in our favor, and, I am proud to say also, our great manufacturing interests have sent more of their goods abroad than ever before in the history of the country. Therefore I maintain that the only time that we may anticipate any trouble with our gold is when the balance of trade is against us. Keep our foreign trade all right, and our money is right. We will never have any trouble with our local money in this country.

To show the wonderful changes in the trade balances, which mean so much to this Government, I beg to submit a table from 1887 to the present time, inclusive:

Year ending—	Total im-ports.	Total ex-ports.	Balance.	
			In our favor.	Against us.
1887	\$602,319,768	\$716,183,211	\$23,863,443	.....
1888	723,957,114	695,954,507	.....	\$28,002,607
1889	745,131,652	742,401,375	.....	2,730,277
1890	789,310,409	857,828,684	68,518,275	.....
1891	844,915,196	884,480,810	39,564,614	.....
1892	827,402,462	1,050,278,148	202,875,686	.....
1893	866,400,922	847,665,194	.....	18,735,728
1894	654,994,622	892,140,572	237,145,950	.....
1895	731,969,965	807,538,165	75,568,200	.....
1896	779,724,674	882,606,938	102,882,264	.....
1897	764,730,412	1,050,993,556	286,263,144	.....
1898	616,049,654	1,231,482,330	615,432,676	.....
1899	697,148,489	1,227,023,302	529,874,813	.....

The prime cause of the good condition of our country is our splendid trade abroad, sending so much more than we bring back from foreign lands.

There is a provision in the present bill for the establishment of a division of the Treasury Department, known as a division of issue and redemption, making two departments of the Treasury. I think it is claptrap. It reminds us of two doll houses. So long as the trade balance is in our favor we do not need any such division in the Treasury. Suppose the state of affairs were changed, and instead of \$529,000,000 in our favor the balance of trade were against us, what would become of this little division scheme? I repeat, it would be looked upon as a mere doll house, to be swept away by the first financial storm.

This bill instead of protecting the Treasury is throwing dangers about it. The proposition to increase the powers of the national banks is un-American, unjust to the whole people, unsound, and inconsistent with the commercial independence and liberty of the people. It creates an alliance between the banks and the Treasury, the heretofore supposed peoples' Treasury, to the detriment of the Treasury. It makes the one dependent on the other, or rather makes the Treasury dependent on the national banks and gives the banks more power and independence. The Treasury has no power to hurt the banks, but the banks have ample power to damage the Treasury.

The bill strikes down nearly one-half of the standard money of this country when it strikes silver. I find that we have \$876,000,000 of gold in the United States, but it is a fact that there are \$1,400,000,000 of all other kinds of money that becomes dependent on the single gold standard. Therefore, in taking silver away, one of the standard moneys, we are throwing down some of the protection now afforded and thereby increasing the burden upon gold. Gold has to carry the burden of maintaining all this money. Your bill goes on to say that our money must be kept on a parity, every dollar with each other dollar, and it permits the Secretary of the Treasury, at his discretion, to redeem any of it in gold; consequently that makes every dollar of our money redeemable in gold.

Another drawback to the bill is that it will require more money in the Treasury at all times. It demands that an amount of gold and bullion, to constitute a reserve fund equal to 25 per cent of the amount, both of United States notes and Treasury notes issued under act of July 14, 1890, outstanding, shall be held in the division of issue and redemption. I will dare say that this reserve fund will amount upon an average to \$110,000,000. Then the amount required to be kept in the general department of the Treasury is \$50,000,000 in gold, making a total of \$160,000,000 in gold that you must have at all times to answer the requirements of the bill.

I will not say more upon that line, as I want to call attention to another point. I look upon the most dangerous part of the bill to be the power given to a national bank to increase its circulation.

Under the present law they are given the power of issuing

\$240,000,000 to \$250,000,000 of circulating notes. Under this bill where banks have a capital of \$150,000 they are to carry 25 per cent of their capital in circulating notes. Banks above \$150,000 capital are only required to issue \$50,000 of circulation. Now a large bank, say of \$2,000,000 capital, is only required to issue \$50,000 in circulation. But the bill permits these banks to issue to the entire amount of their capital, of course provided the bonds are deposited as required by the bill. Upon investigation I find that we have in this country at the present moment 3,595 national banks, with a total capital, surplus, and accrued profits of \$956,000,000. This bill permits these banks to issue to the extent of that capital.

Now you see how they can fluctuate the quantity of the money of this country. I do not mean to say that they are going to take advantage of the power that we give them, but are we willing to sit down and be helpless and say that they shall have that power? It is not American-like to do so. These banks under this bill are permitted to issue as a minimum amount of circulating notes \$102,000,000; on the other hand, they are permitted to issue as a maximum amount \$956,000,000. See how they can contract or inflate the currency of this country. There is the danger by which they can ebb and flow the amount of their own notes \$852,000,000. The fluctuation that they can produce in the issue of the national bank notes amounts to as much as there is gold in the United States. Now, why shall we confer this great power on the national banks? I believe it is wrong and unnecessary, and I do not believe the American people are willing to do it.

Mr. Chairman, I think it is wrong to place this power in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury to buy and sell bonds. It looks to me as if it is humbling that great and honored Treasury Department of this country, and while we are adding two departments to the Treasury where heretofore we had only one, why not go further and add a third? Why not establish a brokerage department in the Treasury, and place a sign over the door and tell that "We buy and sell bonds here"? For that is what our Government is doing now. Last year the Secretary sold \$200,000,000 worth of bonds, and what has he done in the last ten days or two weeks and is doing now? He is going into the markets and buying them back for the Treasury Department.

Then, truly, we are getting our Treasury at a low point, putting it into the jobbing business to compete with the bond speculators of this country.

Let me say something about the bonds. Who owns the bonds? Who controls them? I have tried to ascertain who owns the war bonds, what percentage the national banks own, but I have been unsuccessful in getting that information. I do, however, get a certain amount of information; and, based upon that, I dare say that the national banks in this country own three-quarters or seven-eighths of the war bonds. Upon investigation I find stored in the Treasury Department of our Government by the national banks \$62,352,360 of those 1898 war bonds, stored by national banks to secure circulation. In addition to that I discover deposited in the Treasury \$24,672,340 to secure deposits from the Government by the national banks, making a total of \$77,030,200 stored by the national banks. They must at least own three-quarters or seven-eighths of that issue.

Let me take up the history of bonds issued by the Government since 1894 until the present time and see how the people have fared.

There were sold under the provisions of the war-revenue act approved June 13, 1898, \$198,678,720 in bonds. These bonds were sold not in compliance with the law, but in direct opposition to it, as President McKinley conclusively demonstrates in his message to Congress. The law expressly requires that the bonds shall only be sold as the proceeds may be needed to defray the expenditures of the war. The books of the Treasury Department show that at the time these bonds were sold there was over \$100,000,000 surplus over and above the one hundred millions required for the reserve fund.

The present cash balance in the Treasury above the \$100,000,000 reserve fund being \$186,636,998.95, demonstrates clearly that not one dollar of the proceeds of the bonds has ever been necessary, nor has it in fact ever been used. The President, in his message, shows that next year there will be a surplus in the actual receipts of the Government, and therefore the proceeds of the bonds never will be used. It would appear that the haste of the Secretary of the Treasury in disposing of these bonds was caused by a well-grounded fear that the occasion for selling them under the law would never arise, and that if he did not dispose of them then he would never have an opportunity of doing so. The bankers wanted to draw \$6,000,000 a year interest out of the United States Treasury, and, submissive to their will, the Administration, openly defying the law, which authorized the issuance of bonds only in case of necessity, has paid the bankers the \$6,000,000 a year demanded by them for money which has lain idle in the Treasury ever since it was placed there.

This loan was to be a "popular loan." This fact was heralded throughout the country and was made the subject of many

speeches in Congress and on the hustings. It was reported after the loan was made that the bankers had not secured the bonds, but that they had gone to the people. Experience since that time has demonstrated that the banks had their depositors and friends largely to buy up the bonds, and it would be difficult now to find individual holders of these Government securities; but, as I have said, I believe the national banks hold three-fourths to seven-eighths of these bonds.

On December 8 these bonds were quoted in New York at 110½. At this figure the income is 1½ per cent. At this price they find ready sale. The entire issue could be sold in New York at the present figure. This means that the United States Government can borrow all the money that it wants at 1½ per cent. This is what capitalists are willing to take and the price at which the banks can obtain the money with which to buy bonds, and they then secure from the United States Government a profit of more than 100 per cent per year.

In other words, the banks pay for interest on \$200,000,000 loan \$3,750,000, and the Government pays \$6,000,000, leaving \$2,250,000 a year clear profit to the banks. It is not necessary that the banks should invest a dollar of capital. They can borrow the money, buy the bonds, and draw \$2,250,000 a year for their trouble in writing a letter making a bid.

This does not constitute all of the profits secured by the banks upon an issue of bonds. Two hundred million dollars in bonds sold at par are now worth \$1.10 for each \$1. This is a profit to the banks in the bonds themselves outside of any consideration of the amounts paid in interest of over \$20,000,000.

Treasury Circular No. 123 contains the following information concerning the prior issues of bonds since 1894:

The presentation of United States notes for redemption prior to 1893 was not great enough to reduce the reserve fund below \$100,000,000; in April of that year, however, the minimum was reached, and the fund became so low that in February, 1894, an issue of bonds became necessary to enable the Government to restore the gold reserve and redeem the obligations of the United States. Accordingly, popular subscriptions were invited for an issue of \$50,000,000 of ten-year 5 per cent bonds, which were dated February 1, 1894, and realized to the Government \$58,633,295 in gold. In November, 1894, another issue of \$50,000,000 of the same class of bonds was necessary, the sum realized being \$58,538,500. In February, 1895, the Government was again obliged to replenish the gold reserve, which it did by the purchase, under contract, of 3,500,000 ounces of gold coin, which were paid for with United States 4 per cent thirty-year bonds, amounting to \$62,315,400. Another sale of \$100,000,000 of 4 per cent thirty-year bonds was made through popular subscriptions, invited in January, 1896. The total amount of bonds thus issued since 1893 to protect the gold reserve was \$262,315,400, and the total proceeds thereof, in gold coin, was \$293,454,286.74.

The amount of United States bonds outstanding July 1, 1896, was as follows:

4½ per cent bonds continued at 2 per cent.....	\$25,364,500
4 per cent bonds of 1907.....	559,636,850
5 per cent bonds of 1904.....	100,000,000
4 per cent bonds of 1925.....	162,315,400
Total.....	847,316,750

The same bonds which the Government sold for \$293,454,286.74 would cost in the market to-day, according to the quotation of Fisk & Robinson, on December 8, \$349,753,866, making a profit to the banks of \$56,299,580.

During President Harrison's Administration the interest-bearing debt of the United States was \$585,029,330. The noninterest-bearing debt was \$1,000,648,939.37. In the Treasury statement of the public debt for the month of November, 1899, the interest-bearing debt has been increased to \$1,037,049,690. The noninterest-bearing debt has been decreased to \$398,048,760.16. The proposition in the currency bill is to wipe out this noninterest-bearing debt by replacing it with interest-bearing debt. The interest paid by the United States Government in 1892 was \$22,893,883.25. The interest paid for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1899, was \$39,896,925.02. The debt of the United States has not been increased since 1892, while the interest charge has been nearly doubled and will be more than doubled by the time the purposes of this bill are carried out. The United States Government had no creditors who were clamorous for their money. Its creditors to whom no interest was paid were entirely satisfied. But under the new theory of statecraft it is urged most strenuously that unless we pay interest upon all the debts we owe we are ruined.

If a merchant in solvent condition should become imbued with the idea that his financial salvation depended upon his being allowed to pay interest to those creditors who did not want interest, an application for a writ of lunacy would be granted by any court in Christendom. This extra \$20,000,000 a year, in round numbers, that we are now paying in interest above the amount we paid in 1892 is a subsidy to the banks pure and simple and is not based upon any sound principle of finance.

In December, 1892, President Harrison, in his annual message, called the attention of Congress to the great prosperity which the people of the United States were then enjoying. It is a fact that all of the leading commercial papers make comparisons of prosperity with the year 1892, that being considered universally the high-water mark of national prosperity.

Three months later \$61,000,000 in gold was exported from the

United States. The banks presented certificates at the United States Treasury and withdrew the gold for exportation. This caused the reserve to fall very rapidly and alarmed the Administration and the business world. The reason for the withdrawal of the gold was the fact that the United States was the only nation, except Russia, which at that time had a surplus of gold. Germany had, a few years before, adopted a single gold standard, and at that time Austria-Hungary did the same. This created an unprecedented demand for gold in Europe, and the United States, being the only nation from which the gold could be procured, had it to furnish.

Seeing in prospective a large profit to be made, as it has been made, out of the issuance of national bonds, a committee of New York bankers called upon President Cleveland and Secretary Carlisle and convinced them that some drastic measure was absolutely necessary. They had themselves created the scarcity of gold and had shipped more than the conditions of business would warrant for the reason that there was an alluring profit to the banks in the shipment of the gold. The Government issued certificates similar in nature to clearing-house certificates, and practically made the United States Treasury a branch clearing house for the New York banks. This did not help matters, because it created an endless-chain arrangement, which continues to deplete the gold reserve in the National Treasury.

The trouble was that the banks in New York had sent away their gold until they had depleted their reserve, and there was no way except by depleting the United States Treasury to restore the gold in the banks that had been shipped to Europe. It had to come from some place, and the United States Treasury was the only place where there was any gold. A special session of Congress was called, the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act was repealed, and bonds were authorized. As soon as the bonds were authorized New York bankers again visited the President, who had been so frightened by what they had told him before that he easily believed them when they told him that the condition of the country was such that a popular bond issue could not be floated, but they would take the bonds, secure the money abroad, and thus replace the gold that had been withdrawn from the Treasury without calling upon any of the American banks to supply it.

To the astonishment of everyone, as soon as this reasonable-looking proposition was accepted, it was found that there was not only enough gold to pay for the bonds, but that this purchase netted the men who made it a little over \$8,000,000 in twenty-four hours. The bonds were in active demand at a very considerable advance the day after their issuance. The problem was solved. All that banks required to keep up their gold reserves was to buy bonds from the United States Government, and all that the United States Government required to keep up its gold reserve was to sell bonds to the banks.

Mr. Chairman, I give this history of the bond issues within the past five years, including last year, to show the profits made from Government bond sales, which profits are enjoyed by the few and paid by the many.

Mr. Chairman, I will not discuss the bill further, but I trust soon to see the financial questions of this country settled finally and settled in accordance with the wishes of the great mass of the people of this country. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. LANHAM. Mr. Chairman, that this bill will pass in this House seems to be a foregone conclusion; but before it shall be done I desire to record my profound and conscientious opposition to its provisions.

During all the years of my Congressional service I have stood firmly against what it contemplates, and nothing has occurred to change the deliberate convictions I have formed and uniformly sustained by vote and voice with all the earnestness of my nature.

I shall not essay elaborate argument, but will attempt to epitomize a few essential objections, which, however, have already been better stated than I can hope to do.

It is proposed to now do openly what it is charged and believed was covertly attempted to be done more than a quarter of a century ago and which, when discovered, quickened the resentment and aroused the righteous indignation of the whole country.

It is proposed by positive enactment to degrade, if not destroy, one of the great constitutional money metals of the centuries and to narrow and weaken the foundation upon which rests the superstructure of our paper currency.

One-half of the basis of redemption is to be removed and the work and doctrines and interpretations of the ablest statesmen and constitutional expositors of bygone years are to be swept away as with the besom of destruction. The ancient landmarks are to be obliterated. Old principles are to be repudiated. Reverence for the fathers is to be no more.

Oh, what a radical, cruel, and far-reaching iconoclasm is about to be perpetrated, and with what indecent haste is the rush to its accomplishment! The unit of value sanctioned by the best thought

and research of our sires and the experience and "reason of strength" of fourscore years is to be cast out as vile and unworthy to occupy the place to which it was originally assigned in our monetary system.

There is to be no obscuration of its discredit and no incertitude as to its degradation. While it is insisted that it is already down and lying helpless before its enemies and its face drawn up in death, yet lethal missiles must be hurled in and upon its pallid corpse. It must be crucified afresh. Dead men tell no tales. Fear you a resurrection? Entomb it if you will, mount your guards, station your soldiers, but know ye that your custody of it will be temporary and that bimetalism, the vital principle it represents, will live again, and know further that for what you do now you shall yet be brought to judgment!

It is proposed to change the obligation of contracts, public and private, and, moved by the clamor of ex parte insistence, to insert through statutory force in such contracts words and stipulations never contemplated by the parties to them, and, in violation of solemn covenants and declarations, to destroy the equities of debtors without their consent. The amount "nominated in the bond" is insufficient; the "pound of flesh" is not enough; the severity must be intensified; the yoke must be made harder, the burden heavier. In all good conscience and by all the rules and proprieties of honest civilization and fair dealing among men, I deny the right of Government and the function of legislation to add a single grain to the weight of preexisting debt or to superimpose an additional burden to the back of toil.

It seems to me that the inevitable effect of the passage of this bill will be to contract the money supply and to reduce the circulation, to make the medium of exchange scarcer and thereby more difficult to obtain, and I assert, as a postulate of common and grievous experience and historic truth, that scarce money means hard times the world over. But it is contended that the genesis of the gold mines will meet any contraction that may ensue and that favorable balances of trade will continue to prevent the exportation of gold. Who knows when the mines will be exhausted or their yield diminished? Who knows when drought and disaster shall come upon us, when the crops shall fail, when the "rain of the land shall be powder and dust, and the heavens shall be as brass and the earth as iron," and the labor of the husbandman shall not avail? I beg the authors and supporters of this bill that they will not permit their optimism to turn their heads, and admonish them that it is neither safe nor wise to depend upon roseate views of the future. Good times and hard times have chased each other since the world began. It is the prudent thing to anticipate and provide against calamity.

It is proposed to confer upon the Secretary of the Treasury the authority to issue at his discretion bonds payable in gold. This is a dangerous power with which to invest any officer of the Government. Some of us have not forgotten how such discretionary power has been exercised in utter disregard of what we believed to be the true interests of the people and contrary to the spirit and intention of the law. The man does not live, Democrat or Republican, into whose hands I would be willing to confide such authority. Bond issues and the circumstances attending them will always constitute a dark chapter in our public annals.

It is proposed to increase the dominion of the national banks over the finances of the country. To this I am unalterably opposed.

Finally, it is proposed to overturn every contention for which the great majority of the Democratic party has stood in all the years in so far as the subject-matter of the bill relates to the same, and to fully establish the sway of money over man. I should do violence to my honest conclusions, contradict my past record and utterances, and, from my standpoint, aid in the infliction of unmeasured evils upon my country, if I were to do otherwise than to oppose and protest against the passage of this bill. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. CRUMPACKER. Mr. Chairman, that unparalleled activity prevails in all lines of commerce and production seems to be conceded by all members of this House. It is not necessary to go to statistical tables to discover the revival of business conditions throughout the country. The story may be read in the faces of the multitude. Let one who was familiar with the conditions, with the downcast expression of the people in the late business crisis, go through the country now and he will be impressed with a marked change. During that melancholy experience you could read the awful story of misfortune and distress on every brow, but to-day you can see the sign of buoyant hope beaming from every countenance. That remarkable transformation is a subject worthy of the time and attention of the psychologist as well as the statesman.

Our friends on the other side of the Chamber are willing to concede that a marvelous change came over the country in a very short period, but they will not admit that it was the result of Republican success even in a slight degree. They charge all the

misfortunes of the people to the Republican party and give the Lord credit for all the blessings that come. We have the argument of coincidence, and that ought to prevail over the general assertion that the country is prosperous in spite of, and not on account of, the present Administration, especially when we keep in mind the fact that times have always been good when Republican policies were being administered. No one was able to say that times were good during the late Democratic Administration in spite of the policy of the party then in power.

Under the first Administration of President Cleveland the country enjoyed a fair degree of prosperity, and the people were led to believe that Democratic success was not a menace to the business interests of the country as the Republican orators had so earnestly insisted, and in 1892, in an hour of thoughtlessness, they gave him another term. This time he was supported by a Democratic Congress in both branches, and for the first time for over thirty years that party was permitted to take charge of the vast interests of the country. We all know the result; and if the people gathered any wisdom from that melancholy experience, it will be more than thirty years before we have another Democratic Administration. It is easy to understand now why the first Cleveland Administration was a success. The Congress was Republican in one or both branches all the time, and the President was obliged to administer Republican laws and policies, so he could not do much injury. But when all departments of the Government were under Democratic control, the Lord departed from Israel and distress and destitution possessed the whole land. No Republican rose in his place on this floor then and said, "The land is blessed notwithstanding your party policies."

Many of us believe that the crisis of 1893 was either precipitated or aggravated by infirmities in the revenue and financial policies threatened at that time, and in my judgment it would be almost a criminal omission for this Administration, at this time of unequalled prosperity, to fail to correct those infirmities. We have already disposed of the revenue question with acknowledged success, and we now have before us a question of no less importance, looking to certain reforms in the currency system. The bill under consideration will correct some fundamental weaknesses in our system that were made conspicuous by their capacity for mischief a few short years ago. Our friends on the other side of the Chamber predict dire calamity to the country as the result of the legislation now proposed. They even go so far as to say that if the bill shall become a law it will result in another Democratic Administration. I confess, sir, that no greater misfortune than that could be conceived of. [Applause on the Republican side.]

If the bill can have any possible influence in promoting the candidacy of the idol of the Democratic heart, that great political necromancer from Nebraska, it could only be upon the theory that it would operate as a legislative strait-jacket and minimize his capacity for evil if he should become President. It might tend to assure the country against the danger of free silver even with a Democratic President, and there might seem less occasion to use that vigilance necessary to keep the Government in safe hands. I hope that after a few years we will have the affairs of the country on so firm a basis that it would not be wrecked by a Democratic President, though I have no thought that the people seriously contemplate such an eventuality. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The bill is simple in its provisions and it does not go beyond that which seems reasonably required by the situation. Deference must always be had to the customs and business habits of the people and only such changes made in legislation vitally affecting the important interests of the country as the conditions seem ripe for. There is no need now for any sweeping and radical reforms in banking and currency laws, and if adopted they would seriously disturb the healthy conditions that now prevail, for a time, at least. But since we have discovered elements of weakness in our currency system, we owe it to the country to correct those defects so far as it is in our power to do so, and wait for time to bring about other changes that may become necessary. They must come by natural growth, the slow and unerring process of evolution. Gentlemen decry the gold standard and expatiate upon the virtues of bimetallism. The gold standard seems still to be the nightmare of the Democratic party.

A superficial examination of the provisions of this bill will convince every fair mind that it will effect no change in the currency standard, but its purpose is simply to enact into law that which has been the administrative policy of the Government for the last quarter of a century. If it shall become a law a free-silver President could not put the currency of the country on a silver basis without the cooperation of both branches of Congress. Bimetallism is a fallacy, and every student of economic history must know it. We have had two bimetallic laws under which both gold and silver could be coined upon equal terms, and there has never been a day or an hour in the history of this Government when American gold and American silver traveled side by side in the channels of trade under a free-coinage law. It is an absolute

and utter impossibility, and gentlemen who talk about bimetallism under a free-coinage policy at the arbitrary ratio of 16 to 1 mean a monometallic silver currency; that and nothing less. It can have no other possible operation.

The purpose of this bill is to put the country on a gold standard by legislation, so that a hostile Administration in future years can not disturb business conditions. We can not, by legislation, fix the standard of value. That is fixed by laws beyond the power of this body to repeal or change. But Congress has the power to impart to money its legal-tender quality, and in that lies the importance of this whole question. The fear that a free-silver Administration might discharge the obligations of the Government in a cheap currency is a constant menace to the commercial and industrial world. But this measure does not take away the legal-tender quality of greenbacks or silver. Those forms of money are still a full legal tender for the payment of all private debts and ordinary public demands in the same manner as under the present law, but they are to be more firmly anchored to gold, with the view of preserving their parity. Money has three prime functions, we are told by scientific economists. It is a medium of exchange, a denominator of value, and a means for the payment of debt.

It is in relation to the last function that the importance of this bill may be discovered. It provides that debts shall be paid in the same kind of money that was contemplated by the parties at the time the debts were made. It provides that Government bonds and Treasury notes shall be paid in gold, and this is said to be unfair because it discriminates in favor of the bondholders. There can be no discrimination as long as all forms of our currency are kept at a common parity. The bondholder has been paid in gold ever since resumption became a fact. This bill creates no change in the practice of the Government in that particular.

Gentlemen tell us that the Government creditor and the private creditor stand upon an equal footing, when a moment's reflection will demonstrate to any fair mind that that is a stupid fallacy. It must be kept in mind that the Government is sovereign and gives money its legal-tender power, and if it should insist upon the right to coin money at will and compel its creditors to accept whatever was so coined in satisfaction of their demands, the public credit would be infinitely lower than it is to-day. Imagine, if you can, the case of a private debtor having the power to issue money and make it a legal tender. His creditor would insist upon the right to stipulate in the contract the character of money in which the obligation should be discharged or there would be no contract. No government that does not pay its obligations in the best money of the world can maintain its credit. [Applause on the Republican side.] That is the vital principle in this bill.

Gentlemen tell us that the gold dollar has appreciated; that prices have gone down. I concede that the tendency for the last twenty-five years has been toward lower prices, but as a rule that has been a legitimate tendency. It has come about mainly from natural industrial development, the perfection of productive methods, and when the comforts and conveniences of life may be had more cheaply as the result of natural industrial growth it is the very highest evidence of prosperity. It brings to the homes and to the lives of our people more of the comforts and blessings that we all live to enjoy. In 1896, when the political soothsayers met at Chicago and fulminated the new Democratic creed, the dollar had taken on considerable unnecessary adipose. It was clumsy and disinclined to activity, for it had taken no kind of exercise for several years, and that was all it needed. [Applause on the Republican side.]

This bill, Mr. Chairman, contains a number of other features, of more or less importance, which I have not the time to discuss elaborately. One is that it creates a division in the Treasury Department of issue and redemption and provides for a segregated redemption fund. Under the present system the redemption fund consists simply of a general balance in the Treasury, and is liable for the payment of common obligations against the Government. A permanent redemption fund should be provided in order that our obligations and paper currency may be redeemed upon presentation without question or quibble.

The bill also confers power on the Secretary of the Treasury to sell bonds without limit when it shall be necessary to replenish the redemption fund. Gentlemen complain of this arbitrary power; and I confess, Mr. Chairman, that it is a power that it is possible to abuse; but no scheme of government has ever been wrought out by the genius of man that does not repose a large discretion respecting its most important functions in the wisdom and patriotism of its officials. If we are to presume that all men are dishonest, government must be regarded as a failure. If the power that this bill confers upon the Secretary of the Treasury had lodged there during the last Cleveland Administration I believe it would have saved the Government \$100,000,000 at least. The vesting of the power is a guaranty that all the resources of the Government are not only pledged but are immediately available for the purposes of maintaining the public credit and is the

highest safeguard against the necessity for ever having to use the power at all.

The bill provides that when greenbacks and Sherman notes shall have been redeemed they shall not be reissued except in exchange for gold. Provision is made, however, for the transfer from the division of issue and redemption to the common fund of any redeemed paper at the discretion of the Secretary, and by this means redeemed paper may get into circulation again. The greenback is the most popular form of currency the country ever had. Every dollar is good the world over, and it is so sacredly associated with the days of our greatest calamity that it is canonized in the hearts of the people. But, notwithstanding all that, during the recent crisis the greenback was the greatest menace to public credit and proved to be a costly form of money. It was used to deplete the gold reserve, and it was a most effective agency in that work. When business conditions are normal the greenback will not be presented for redemption, because it is a more convenient form of money than gold or silver, and all that which finds its way into the Treasury in ordinary fiscal channels will be reissued. When conditions are disturbed and gold is in demand, greenbacks that have been redeemed will be held in the Treasury so they can not be used repeatedly to deplete the stock of gold. When conditions improve they may be transferred to the common fund and again go into circulation. This is one of the wisest and most judicious provisions of the bill. A moment's reflection will satisfy everyone of its value as a preserver of the public credit.

The talk about contraction is destitute of force. Provision is made for the exchange of gold for all other kinds of money whenever it shall be necessary to maintain the parity. This also is merely the enactment of the present policy into positive law.

The bill authorizes banks in small communities with a capital of \$25,000. Under the present law no bank can be organized with less than \$50,000 capital. The modification will enable many small towns to be supplied with banking facilities and loanable capital that are denied those advantages now. It will have a beneficial operation, because it will have a tendency to distribute money in all parts of the country. Then, it authorizes national banks to issue currency to the par value of the bonds they are required to deposit. This privilege will cost the country nothing, and it will impart to the currency an element of elasticity that will better meet the demands of exigencies as they arise.

The circulation of banks is relieved from the tax of 1 per cent that it now bears, and a tax of one-fifth of 1 per cent per annum is placed upon the capital stock, surplus, and undivided profits. The bank circulation now is \$200,000,000, in round numbers, and the annual tax is \$2,000,000. The capital, surplus, and undivided profits of national banks aggregate \$1,000,000,000, in round numbers, and one-fifth of 1 per cent on this basis will yield \$2,000,000 a year. The amount of taxes the Government will receive under this bill, if it becomes a law, will be the same as it receives upon circulation now, but it will be distributed more equitably. In large cities banks with large capital take out but little circulation and pay an inequitable small share of the circulation tax. Banks in the country towns take out the maximum amount of circulation as a rule and consequently pay a disproportionately large share of the taxes. This bill will equalize the burden by taking from the taxation of small banks in the country towns and adding to those of large capital in the large cities. Those large banks enjoy the prestige that the national banking system of organization and supervision gives, and they ought to pay for it.

The effect of the bill will be to increase the bank circulation, and an abundance of money for all purposes will be constantly maintained. It gives banks additional privileges without costing the Government a dollar. Banks are an indispensable factor in commerce and production, and I am in favor of all measures that will increase their legitimate functions. I would so limit and control their power that they can not become agencies of oppression, and yet so regulate them that they may subserve the business needs of the country in the highest degree. They should be servants and not masters. This bill will give them no dangerous power. We hear the criticism that the bill will enhance the value of Government bonds. It can not to any great extent, because they are now selling in the markets at a price that will yield less than 2 per cent per annum on the investment. But it is no objection to legislation that it will improve business and make property more valuable. It is better than if it would tear down, depreciate, and destroy. The bill is wise in all its provisions and amply meets every requirement of the times. [Loud applause on the Republican side.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for twenty minutes.

Mr. LOVERING. Mr. Chairman, my interest in the subject of this discussion grows out of a lifelong connection with business affairs. My interest in the bill itself comes from my connection with the caucus committee which prepared it.

After the able presentation and explanation of all its provisions

by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. OVERSTREET] in opening the debate, there is very little that any other member of the committee need or can say. I will therefore address myself only to a few general remarks pertinent to the subject.

Mr. Chairman, the bill before the committee deals with the fundamental principles of finance. In affirming and fixing the gold standard it puts down an anchor for a stable currency that no amount of political clamor nor change of party can drag from its moorings. In providing for the maintenance of the parity of all moneys it prescribes directions for a Secretary of the Treasury that must be observed; whoever comes after would be a bold man and deserving of impeachment should he disregard them. This bill should receive the commendation of our silver friends for what it does for silver. It not only carries the entire silver coinage on a parity with gold, but provides for the direct or representative use of it by making the silver certificates of denominations of \$5 and under. This will insure the circulation of silver or small bills to the most remote parts of the country. If I mistake not, the business of the country will find use for every dollar so issued. I have heard free-silver advocates avow that this was all the recognition they asked for silver.

I have during the last few months traveled through nearly all the Southern States, and have taken occasion to talk with business and financial men, and almost without exception they have expressed themselves as not averse to the gold standard; but say they: "We are obliged to favor free silver because we are obliged to be Democrats." A singular illustration of cause and effect.

My friend from Tennessee [Mr. COX] has just said that we are here to obey the mandates of those who sent us here. No man ever uttered a truer word. We are here to obey the mandates of those who sent us here. Is he here in obedience to the mandate of his constituents in opposing this measure?

Mr. Chairman, every provision of this bill is a sound business proposition, and when adopted by Congress will afford the basis on which to form a good banking law. These, then, are the fundamentals or essentials of financial reform; all the exact propositions that need to be stated. Now, banking is not an exact science. It does not follow that one and only one banking law can be right. There are many methods of accomplishing the same end that may be good, perhaps equally good and operative, provided the basis be correctly established. For one, I do not think that a banking law need be very complex or abstruse. It seems to me that all the necessary provisions and safeguards can be stated in simple language, which all people of reasonable intelligence can understand.

Recognizing the principles of this bill, I believe that each and every member of the Banking and Currency Committee, be he from this side of the House or the other, could frame a banking bill that would not only be operative and satisfactory to the people, but several of such bills would probably be so nearly equal in merit as to make it hard to choose between them. Who knows but that if this bill had been a law before the last Congress the perpetual love feast held upstairs in the room of the Banking and Currency Committee might have been fruitful of a perfect banking bill under the leadership of that able, genial, and conciliating statesman, my late honored colleague from Massachusetts. Just here I think it only fair to say that great credit is due to the Banking and Currency Committee of the Fifty-fifth Congress, in that its work afforded the basis of this bill and greatly facilitated the labors of those who prepared it.

The last three sections of this bill contain all that relates to banking, and to my mind it is necessary that they should become law as soon as possible to meet the demand for circulation growing out of the deluge of prosperity that is sweeping over the country to-day.

I have listened very carefully to the speeches that have been made on the other side of the House, and I have listened in vain for any words in defense of the 16 to 1 standard. Our friends have fallen back upon the quantitative theory, and have not only appropriated the \$335,000,000 of increased coinage, but now say that if that be a good thing then the unlimited coinage of silver would be so much the more desirable, forgetting that it is the increase of business that makes the increased demand and use for money.

We have to-day \$2,000,000,000 of money in use in the United States, a larger amount than was ever known in the history of the country, and it is the purpose of this bill to make it world money, good as gold everywhere; and yet business has increased to the extent that more circulation is needed at once, and why? Let me show by illustration why. It is the custom in New England, and especially in Massachusetts, where it is in conformity with the law, to make weekly payments of wages, and all such wages are paid in cash. This has the effect of keeping money in the community.

With the increase of 10 per cent in wages which has recently taken place in most of our industries, and which I am glad to see has extended all over the country, even to the South and other

free-silver sections, it requires just that proportionate increase of money to meet the demand. Not only this, but the increased value of all products requires an increased volume of circulation.

It costs a cotton manufacturer in New England 33 per cent more to put in his cotton this year than it did last. Where he paid 6 cents for his cotton then, he has now to pay 8 cents, in round numbers. Although the cotton crop of this year bids fair to be one and one-half million bales less than last year, the farmer will receive \$20,000,000 more for his crop.

The relief which this bill affords is much needed. The question was asked the other day as to what was the crop of last year. I will say that the cotton season ends on the 31st day of August. The crop of last year was, in round numbers, 11,216,000 bales. It was also asked what the crop would be this year. No one can tell with absolute certainty. It has been variously estimated at from under 9,000,000 bales up to about 11,000,000. The best authority I can find places the crop at something under 10,000,000 bales, or about 9,700,000 bales.

The necessity for it is the legitimate outgrowth of the return of normal conditions of prosperity incident to the wise policy of a business Administration.

As I listened to the eloquent gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND], and heard him alternately deny that there was prosperity and then explain why there was prosperity, my mind went back to the time when I left my State to come to the Fifty-fifth Congress, and I could but contrast the situation at home then with that which I left when I came to the Fifty-sixth Congress. Then the closed doors and smokeless chimneys of idle mills were seen on all sides, and the silence was only broken by the footsteps of the watchman who was left as caretaker of the property and to guard the large warehouses filled with goods for which there was no market.

On the streets were gathered the men and women, bemoaning their misfortune and enforced idleness, sadly husbanding their scanty resources, or turning in despair to the charitable societies or soup houses.

How different the scenes I have just left. Every furnace burning, chimneys smoking, every spindle humming, and every loom beating, making cloth to be sold even before it is finished. There are none who are willing or care to work but can find employment at good wages.

I found the same condition of prosperity in the South. Every wheel was turning, in many cases night and day, and there was a scarcity of labor everywhere. I have reason to know, from my own business interests in the South, that it is not easy to get sufficient labor, and wages have continually advanced.

In the eloquent argument of the gentleman from Missouri last Monday he undertook, in a part of his remarks, to apologize for the state of prosperity in which he found the country and to explain it away on the score of the increased volume of circulation. Then, in another part of his address, he devoted himself to a complaint of high prices of the staple products and manufactures of the country and fell to beating and belaboring trusts.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I am not here to defend all the features or to deny all the evils that have been attributed to trusts, but I would like to ask my friend if it is a hardship and if it is due to a trust that the Southern planters will probably receive \$20,000,000 more for their cotton than they did last year? Is it the fault of trusts that the iron mines of Pennsylvania and Alabama are receiving from 50 to 100 per cent more for their output than they did a year ago? Is it the fault of any trust that the uses for iron have within the last five years multiplied themselves three or four times? Is it due to trusts that the new uses for structural iron have so increased in all classes of buildings? Are trusts responsible for the development of electricity in all its departments, which has multiplied the uses for iron and copper?

The law of supply and demand is as potent and inexorable as the law of gravitation, and the moment the demand falls off or ceases the price must fall to meet it, and no trust in the world can for any length of time stand up against it.

Whatever form the opposition to trusts shall take it must not be in the direction of their suppression. It may regulate, it may exact publicity in their acts and accounts, but it must not seriously interfere with the free cooperation of capital. For just as sure as such cooperation is forbidden or crushed out by law a worse evil will arise to take its place. The individual Cæsus will grow and fasten himself, like the old man of the sea, upon the back of the public. He is not responsible to anyone, while the corporations are not only bound by their charters, but are responsible to thousands and tens of thousands of stockholders.

Combination and cooperation of capital are safeguards against great single capitalists whose power of monopoly is many times greater than that of any corporation. The only remedy of an oppressed people in such a case is to combine their capital to compete with and overcome the monopoly. If you deny them this power, you not only offer a premium to the plutocrat, but you secure him in his monopoly.

It seems to me that there is a great deal of senseless and unreasoning talk about trusts. I do not propose to champion them. In so far as they are honestly organized and administered on business principles, they can take care of themselves. In so far as they are dishonestly organized and conducted, there is law enough, if properly enforced, to keep them within bounds.

In so far as they defy correct business principles by piling up fictitious capital and inordinately capitalizing their expectations, they become top-heavy and contain within themselves the seeds of their own dissolution.

Wall street has a cold-blooded way of finding the vulnerable points in such concerns, and while it may help them up at the start, it is sure to kick them down at the first opportunity.

Mr. Chairman, as this country grows in population and develops its resources it must grow in its revenues and in its expenditures. Figures that once seemed enormous with a population of 40,000,000 now look small with a population of 75,000,000 and will dwindle more and more as we approach 100,000,000.

I mistake the temper of the American people if many of them can be much longer deceived by a mere array of figures. I mistake their temper also if they can be longer cajoled by the cheap silver dollar.

While our business at home and our trade abroad increases to almost fabulous proportions let us see to it that the quality of our money be not cheapened in the eyes of the world nor in the pockets of the people. [Applause.]

Mr. OLMSTED. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. OVERSTREET] and others who have preceded me have so fully and clearly explained all the details of this bill that I shall confine the few remarks which I shall make to a discussion of its general principles. It might aptly be entitled "A bill to continue confidence and perpetuate prosperity." The amount of currency in circulation is not comparable in importance to the maintenance of confidence in the uniformity and stability of its standard and of what we term business confidence.

The useful purposes of money are three: First, to serve as the measure of values; second, as a medium of exchange—the go-between in the exchange of commodities from one man to another and in the adjustment of balances, and, third, as the basis of contracts to be performed in the future. Centuries ago money of some kind was necessary in every transaction. People did not trust each other. There was no credit. But with increasing civilization came increased trust and confidence, so that now 95 per cent of the business of this country is conducted without the actual use of money at all, but by operations involving confidence.

I may be pardoned a few illustrations from my own State. The president of the Pennsylvania Steel Company, one of the largest manufacturing institutions in the country, told me that of the millions of dollars received by that company for its products in a single year not one farthing was paid in currency or what we call money. It was all by check or draft or bill of exchange or other means involving confidence. For all the ores and coal and other material purchased by it that company did not pay out one cent in currency. Its employees were all paid by check, save where the amount was less than \$20.

Out of some \$12,000,000 received in a single year at the Pennsylvania State treasury only \$2,000 was paid in money or currency. These are but samples of the way in which business is done everywhere.

While checks represent money, it is a mistake to suppose that money always changes hands in payment of them. They are usually settled by "clearings" between the banks upon which they are drawn. An officer in a prominent bank in my own city told me that recently in clearing with another bank, although there were many checks involved, the difference between those drawn upon his bank and presented by the other and those held by his bank against the other was only 3 cents; so that, although thousands of dollars were represented by the checks, they were all liquidated and paid by an actual exchange of only 3 cents in money.

The exchanges at the New York Clearing House from January 2, 1899, to November 30, 1899, aggregated \$55,413,508,034.04, while the actual currency required to redeem that vast volume of what I may term credit money was only \$2,888,214,065.64, or a trifle over 5 per cent. In some years it has been less than 5 per cent.

In addition to the enormous volume of business represented by checks there is the further enormous volume represented by short-time notes, bills payable, etc., constantly given and received by every individual, firm, partnership, and corporation largely engaged in business. These are also matters involving confidence. When confidence is general, they, as well as checks, are used freely; but when either national or individual confidence is impaired or shaken, these great and necessary aids to business are less available. Those who would tamper with the currency or render its condition uncertain do not take into consideration the potent influence of credit. Whatever impairs the integrity of a nation, of a corporation, or of an individual impairs its credit;

whatever impairs credit and weakens confidence lessens commerce, and whatever lessens commerce results injuriously to all the people. There are many ways in which public confidence—business confidence—may be impaired. It has always been impaired to a greater or less degree by the election of a Democratic Administration and strengthened by Republican success, as a few modern instances will suffice to show. The election of a Democratic President in 1892 gave rise to the belief that under the free-trade theories which he and his party were likely to enact into law the manufacturing and mining industries of the country could not thrive.

Confidence in their ability to meet their obligations was impaired, their notes were thrown out by banks, their credit weakened, their ability to continue business ceased, and thousands of them went to the wall. As a necessary result the business of railroads decreased, and only the strongest of them were able to keep their properties out of the hands of the receiver. The enactment of the Wilson bill increased the distrust, and when to all this there was added the threat and serious danger of the free coinage of silver, rendering uncertain the unit of value and the obligation of contracts, the climax was reached.

With the impending triumph of Bryan and the free-coinage theory, no man possessing a good dollar was willing to invest it, uncertain of the character or value of the dollar which he might eventually receive in return. Consequently business enterprises were shut down and commerce was nearer at a standstill than it had been for many years before. Hundreds of thousands of men were out of employment. Capital was idle. Every day recorded additional business failures. The assignee and the receiver were in supreme control.

These conditions of distrust affected the amount of money in circulation, for while in 1892, the last year of Republican Administration, the amount in circulation for each man, woman, and child in the United States was \$24.44, the highest up to that time known in the history of the country, the per capita had been reduced in 1896 to \$21.10. And even that, although nominally in circulation—because in the country and not in the Treasury—did not actually circulate with the same activity and represent the same volume of business as in times of greater confidence. The great volume of check and credit transactions was immeasurably reduced.

The whole country was saved from bankruptcy only by the fortunate defeat of Bryan and the pernicious credit and commerce destroying theories advocated by him and his followers and embodied in the Chicago platform. With the election of McKinley there immediately began a restoration of confidence. This was aided by the repeal of the Wilson tariff bill and the enactment of the Dingley bill, thus assuring the country of reasonable protection to American industries and to American labor.

The election of a Republican President and of a Republican House of Representatives insured the public against any legislation debasing the currency; and finally the election of a Republican Senate inspired the people with confidence, born of the knowledge that the Republican party always keeps its pledges; that affirmative legislation would be enacted, making impossible, at least for a long time to come, the destruction of the existing gold standard. [Applause.]

The result of this confidence is seen on every hand. The products of our mines are greater than ever before; our factories are breaking all records; our railroads are absolutely congested with traffic. We have had in Pennsylvania recently the singular spectacle of a railroad company unable to move all its coal tonnage because it could not get cars, while the factory engaged in filling its order for cars was compelled to suspend operations because the overburdened railroads could not supply it with coal.

The armies that fought the battle of Gettysburg were smaller in number than the army of additional railway men employed since the defeat of Bryan. But the army of additional railway men is not comparable to the vast armies of men in other pursuits idle in 1896 who are now employed at living wages.

Mr. James Campbell, the efficient factory inspector of Pennsylvania, has favored me with advance sheets of his annual report for the year ending October 31, 1899, covering 11,355 factory establishments, concerning which he says:

Three hundred and twenty-eight thousand and eight more persons were employed in 1899 than in 1896; 203,915 more persons were employed in 1899 than in 1897; 182,207 more persons were employed in 1899 than in 1898, and if the demand for skilled workers and laborers could be supplied the increase would be greater.

To refer to my own district, a single company employing 4,002 men in 1896 employs 6,315 to-day. This is only a sample—only an index to the conditions which exist throughout the length and breadth of the land. There is not an able-bodied man in this whole country who can not find employment at living wages, and every day we read of increases in wages.

I have just read in the North American, that in certain parts

of Philadelphia there is great activity in real estate, caused by the fact that workingmen, who have heretofore been content to live in humble rented tenements are, as the result of improved conditions, beginning to purchase homes for themselves.

The amount of money in the United States has increased steadily since the defeat of Bryan, so that, while in 1896 we had \$2,347,306,006, we had on the 1st day of July, 1899, \$2,745,350,508—an increase of nearly \$400,000,000, and the per capita of money in circulation had increased from \$21.10 in 1896 to \$25 now—the highest point ever known. And as the result of restored confidence and improved business conditions, this per capita of currency actually circulates and performs the functions for which it was intended. [Applause.]

My friend, the gentleman from Nevada [Mr. NEWLANDS], admits that universal prosperity has followed the defeat of Bryan and the election of a Republican Administration; but he does not give us any part of the credit. He attributes the result entirely to the forces of nature. The varying wheat crops in this and other countries, he says, are responsible. But that same gentleman and others told us in 1896 that wheat and silver marched hand in hand, that their fortunes were inseparably linked together.

When wheat is low they blame the Republican party and the gold basis; when prosperity everywhere abounds they give all the credit to nature. Of course, good crops help, and the forces of nature do sometimes seem to fight for the Republican cause. Nature is not wholly responsible for enabling the great Pennsylvania Steel Company, at my home, which went into bankruptcy under a Democratic Administration, to pay out \$2,730,047.64 in wages to employees in 1898. Nature is not wholly responsible for the fact that at one time within the present year there were standing upon the sidings at the works of that company 43 cars loaded with structural iron bound for India, literally "on the road to Mandalay," to fill part of a \$900,000 bridge contract. I do not think that nature is entitled to all the credit for putting at work the 328,008 additional factory hands in Pennsylvania. The restored confidence in proper protection to American labor and in the maintenance of the integrity of our currency and of public and private obligations has had even more to do with it.

Every taxpayer in the land has been benefited by this improved confidence in another way, to which I call your attention. Nearly every county, city, borough, and school district has, since the defeat of Bryan and the free-coinage theory, either refunded old loans or by borrowing created new ones at reduced rates of interest, so that whereas they formerly paid 5, 6, or 7 per cent, they now pay 4, 3½, and in many instances as low as 3 per cent in interest, the difference being saved to taxpayers.

This has largely come about because of the fact that the people who invest in bonds have confidence that the good money which they put into them will be eventually repaid in dollars equally good. The Federal Government borrowed money readily at 3 per cent in the midst of war with a foreign nation, while the preceding Democratic Administration paid 4 per cent in a time of profound peace. The American taxpayer may take comfort in contrasting his present condition with that prevailing in free-silver Mexico, whose people are taxed to enable the Government to pay \$12 in silver as interest upon every \$100 of loans held by nonresidents.

We are now and for many years past have been upon the gold standard, but the condition of the law is such that a Democratic President or Secretary of the Treasury alone, without any action by Congress, might instantly overthrow this condition and put us at once upon a different basis. We who are Republicans owe it to the people and to the country, now that we are in power, to enact such positive legislation as shall carry out the pledges made in our party platforms, both State and national, and continue the present favorable business conditions. This bill is intended to effectuate that purpose. It reaffirms the gold standard by declaring in its first section that the standard unit of value shall, as now, be the gold dollar of its present weight and fineness.

It positively enacts in its second section that the interest-bearing obligations of the United States now existing or hereafter to be entered into shall be deemed to be payable according to that standard, thus taking it out of the power of the President or the Secretary of the Treasury alone to affect their integrity or impair their value. It provides that all other obligations, public and private, for the payment of money shall be performed in conformity with the standard established in section 1. It expressly provides against affecting the present legal-tender quality of the silver dollar or of our paper currency. It provides that all our money shall be kept upon a parity with gold, and anchors us firmly to the gold basis, upon which the country is now enjoying such universal and unbounded prosperity. [Applause.]

Gentlemen upon the other side of the House claim that some gentlemen on this side must, in order to support this bill, make a change of front. Our platform of 1896 pledged the party to the maintenance of "the existing gold standard," and declared that "all our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity

with gold." We all stand upon that platform to-day. You stood upon a platform which demanded the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1 and were overwhelmingly defeated at the polls.

The Republicans of Pennsylvania, in their convention of 1896 and each year since, have demanded the maintenance of the existing gold standard of value as necessary "to restore and preserve the industrial prosperity of the Union," and there every Republican member from Pennsylvania stands to-day. If any Democratic member from Pennsylvania upon the floor of this House contemplates voting against this bill, I call his attention to the platform adopted by the Democrats of Pennsylvania in State convention assembled in 1896, about sixty days before the nomination of Bryan.

That Democratic State convention, which assembled at Allentown April 29, 1896, unanimously resolved that—

Congress should enact such legislation as will give to the country a banking currency ample in volume for the needs of business, absolutely secure under every contingency, and at all times redeemable in gold. We are in favor of a firm, unvarying maintenance of the gold standard. * * * We believe that the interests of the people demand that the earnings of trade, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and especially the wages of labor, should be paid in money of the highest intrinsic value and of the highest standard adopted by the civilized nations of the world.

I bring that Democratic platform to the attention of every Democratic member from Pennsylvania, and, indeed, to every gentleman upon the other side of this House, and suggest to them that time has demonstrated its wisdom. Upon that point both parties in Pennsylvania agreed early in 1896, and the Republicans have not changed front.

I shall vote for this measure, Mr. Chairman, because it is honest; because it carries into effect the pledges of the Republican party made to the people in their hour of need; because it insures integrity on the part of the Government, of private individuals, and of corporations in keeping their obligations; because it insures to soldiers and sailors their pensions, to farmers the price of their products, to merchants the price of their wares, and to the vast army of laborers everywhere payment of their wages in the best money that the world affords. I shall vote for it because I firmly believe that its effect will be to continue the confidence and make more permanent the prosperity which under the present Republican administration of the Government everywhere abounds. [Loud applause on the Republican side.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIBLEY] is recognized for two minutes.

Mr. SIBLEY. Mr. Chairman, I had contemplated participating in the debate upon House bill No. 1, but an unfortunate or fortunate interview, whichever the case may be, that appeared in one of our Washington papers this week has seemed to cause some degree of alarm among my Democratic friends, and not wishing to embarrass the very genial gentleman who is the leader upon this side of the Chamber, who has been told by other Democrats that they thought the time should belong to those who were more thoroughly in accord respecting the substantial provisions of this measure, I thought to relieve him from all embarrassment by embalming my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, where they may sleep in the crypt of this Capitol, in fellowship with the mighty thoughts of the great statesmen of the past who have given them to the world in the same manner. [Laughter.]

I do not know, Mr. Chairman, why my Democratic friends should have been afraid of me. I have been offered by the Republicans time in which to express my opinions, but I can not accept as a Republican courtesy that which I feel as a Democratic member I have a right to demand in my own proper person. [Applause.] I supported every candidate on the Democratic ticket nominated at Chicago, and upon the stump in twenty-seven different States in this Union I maintained the justice of the bimetallic contention. And yet it seems that views now as honestly entertained by me should not be given expression.

I am going to vote against this bill and was going to offer reasons with such power of logic, with such matchless charms of oratory, with such keen satire and invective that I expected to see every Republican abandon his untenable position upon this measure. [Laughter.] Why, over here upon this side of the Chamber, the great majority of us believe, I think, that you on that side are engaged in the task of driving nails in your own coffin, and my friends over here are so desirous that you shall be successful in the accomplishment of that task that I think they fear now—that is the charitable reason which I am giving to myself—they feared that if I gave expression to my opinions the hammer would fall from your nerveless grasp, Mr. Chairman. Therefore I shall avail myself of the privilege, under the rule, of letting my remarks go thundering down the ages in the precincts of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. [Applause and laughter.]

Mr. RICHARDSON. I only want to take one minute at this point to say that there is no misunderstanding between my friend from Pennsylvania and myself.

Mr. SIBLEY. Not the slightest.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I offered the gentleman thirty-five minutes' time in which to give expression to his eloquent views. I offered this time in the utmost good faith.

Mr. SIBLEY. I do not desire to question that fact; but what had preceded it was the matter that caused me to determine, after the pressure that had been brought to bear upon my friend, to relieve him entirely from any embarrassment for any position which I am assuming upon this question.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Of course I was not aware of what had preceded our conversation between the gentleman and others.

Mr. SIBLEY. Certainly not.

Mr. Chairman, when a candidate for position in this honorable body, I stated to my constituents that upon measures pending in Congress affecting the welfare and happiness of the American people I should exercise, with such intelligence as I might possess, my conscientious sense of duty, regardless of whether the measure originated on one side of the Chamber or the other, honestly entertaining the opinion that on public questions this side of the Chamber can not be unequivocally right nor the other side wholly wrong; nor do I believe that upon questions affecting the prosperity and happiness of such a nation as ours partisan tests should be applied.

My belief is firm in the old adage that "The agitation of thought is the beginning of wisdom," and it is to be regretted that a measure so far-reaching in its consequences, so fraught with possibilities for weal or woe to the public, might not have been referred to the proper committee for such minor changes, at least, as would make it more acceptable to the country at large.

The expression of my opinions probably will not reflect the crystallized sentiment of either party in this controversy. Macaulay says: "The effect of violent animosities between parties has always been an indifference to the general welfare and honor of the state." Nevertheless, in the language of Tennyson:

Let Whig and Tory stir their blood,
There must be stormy weather;
But for some true result of good
All parties work together.

The first proposition enunciated in this measure is the permanent adoption of the gold standard. Recognizing as we do the power the majority possess to write their will upon the statute books of the nation, it may well be considered whether, even if the unit of value is to be 25.8 grains of gold nine-tenths fine, the hour is yet ripe for this nation to make such declaration.

We have seen the reputed statement of the Secretary of the Treasury that he hopes in the near future to be able to refund the interest-bearing obligations of the United States on a 2 per cent basis. This is a consummation eagerly to be desired, and no action taken by this body should so embarrass him as to render his task, if not impossible, at least more difficult of accomplishment.

In a message submitted to this body by President Cleveland during the Fifty-third Congress, in which he stated his determination to issue \$62,400,000 of bonds, he said that if Congress would consent to write the word "gold" instead of "coin" in the bonds the bidders for the bonds would give \$16,000,000 more for them. In other words, the international money magnates of the world placed their own estimate upon the difference in value between a bond payable in coin and one payable in gold. At that time, as I thought, the House wisely refused to change the terms of the bond. This difference in valuation was not a chance guess; it was not the theoretic deduction of some academician, but it was the calculating estimate of the best informed financiers of this round world.

We are now asked voluntarily to contribute to them not upon sixty-two millions of bonds alone, but upon \$1,046,000,000, the difference in value between bonds reading payable in coin and bonds by their terms reading payable in gold. The estimate made by the world's financiers upon the difference in value of gold or coin bonds of the par value of \$62,000,000 was sixteen millions, or about 25.92 per cent, which valuation, if extended to the total issue of interest-bearing bonds now outstanding, would mean an enhancement of value to the holders of such obligations of more than \$260,000,000; while the lower rate of interest upon some bonds and short term of others would make this estimate too large, yet the indirect enhancement in values will probably exceed \$100,000,000.

We may well inquire what necessity of such paramount importance impels our action in advance of negotiations entered into by the Secretary of the Treasury in attempting to refund these obligations at a rate of interest wherein the United States shall save in interest charges upward of \$10,000,000 per annum. An offer made by responsible parties, and submitted to Congress by President Cleveland, affords each member of this body opportunity unerringly to estimate the value of the voluntary surrender which we are called upon to make. What present or prospective crisis dims the financial horizon demanding this change?

You tell us that we already have the gold standard. Under the interpretation of recent Secretaries of the Treasury this is unquestionably true, and has been for years; and I deliberately state my individual conviction that, for some years at least, it will remain the standard. Upon the floor of this House and upon the platform in many States of this Union I proclaimed my belief that the success of the adherents to the yellow metal in the Presidential contest of 1896 would leave in its train business paralysis, commercial stagnation, financial disaster, and all the horrors which accompany falling prices.

We accepted the doctrines of Aristotle, Locke, Adam Smith, Francis Wayland, John Stuart Mill, and every teacher upon financial economics from the dawn of history until this question became a burning issue in partisan politics, that a diminution in the volume of money meant a diminution in the value of products and all the attendant evil accompanying falling prices, and that an increase in the volume of money meant rising prices, with the stimulus to industry and enterprise which is the invariable accompaniment thereof. We championed the cause of silver, not because of any special affection for the white metal, but because we believed that the stock of gold was insufficient; that the foundations of a single metal were too narrow to afford industry and commercial genius to erect thereon grand temples commemorating successful achievement.

Standing here to-day, I affirm that the truth of the essential contention of the bimetalists has been vindicated and is justified in the industrial activity and the increasing range of prices as marked by the system of index numbers, finding its expression not alone in the United States but throughout the extent of the entire globe. Truly, my Republican friends, there have been but few showers in recent years finding you without umbrellas. That beneficent Providence which is said to be the especial protector of "children, drunkards, and the feeble-minded" has also been very kind indeed to our friends of that party represented upon the other side of the Chamber.

The discoveries of the Klondike, the development of Cripple Creek, the perfection of the cyanide process, which has enabled successful operations upon the gold reefs of Africa, have so augmented the production of gold that last year the world produced more than three hundred millions of that metal, more of gold alone added to the world's stock of money than had ever been added of both gold and silver in any one year since the history of man was first written. Responsive to the law laid down by Aristotle and accepted and advocated by the friends of bimetalism, following this great increase of the world's stock of money, prices have risen, hope has again been enkindled in the human heart, commerce sought new fields, and industry and energy find substantial recompense.

For more than a quarter of a century, from the very hour when the crime against humanity was enacted, destroying the money value of one of the precious metals, commercial disaster has trodden upon the heels of commercial disaster. The system of index numbers has shown steadily each year a diminution in the value of the products of labor, whether in factory or upon farm. But I believe that the depths of the valley of humiliation have been reached, that its ford has been crossed, and that now we are scaling the heights of the farther side and that for twenty-five years to come there will be an era of prosperity and development such as the world has never witnessed in the past.

Friends of mine who have visited the "Rand" inform me that those reefs, stretching unbrokenly from Johannesburg on the south, way up to Pretoria on the north, have unlimited possibilities of production, and that the settlement of the lamentable difficulties now existing between the English and the Boers (which can result, I believe, in but one way) will open to development that entire reef, which has been limited by President Kruger to the southern portion only. I am informed that one firm in Chicago has upon its books to-day, waiting alone the cessation of hostilities, orders amounting to more than \$3,000,000 for mining machinery for South Africa.

Thousands of American miners are also waiting the close of hostilities to engage in the exploitation of this reef, which, with modern methods of treatment, renders it less hazardous than any mining enterprise heretofore known.

The opinion has been given me by those who are not optimistic in business matters that the product of gold from this reef is likely to reach from three to four hundred millions of dollars annually, and that the world's present stock of gold will be more than doubled within the next ten years.

From Peru, in the heart of the Andean range, come authentic reports of discoveries of gold of such tremendous magnitude and value as the world has never heretofore known, ore in strong veins running in value from four thousand into the hundreds of thousands of dollars per ton.

Following the automatic theory of money, gold will fall, or, as we may properly say, prices will rise relative thereto. Mr. Chairman, the outlook for production of gold is such that I would

fain warn my friends on the other side to act with deliberation, prudence, and caution, for it would not be surprising, if the estimates of the possibilities of gold production in the future should be true, that the nations of the world will again be invited to a conference, as they were in 1854, following the discoveries in California and Australia, to consider the desirability of taking away the legal tender of gold, as did Holland and every state now comprising the present German Empire.

Within a few years, possibly, the battle of the standards will again rage, and we shall hear the white metal lauded as the money necessary to the common transactions of life and of such universal adaptation and free from so many objections to gold as currency that it will be called the poor man's money, and some gentleman may be found advocating the cause of silver, not because of its intrinsic value, but because of its scarceness relative to gold.

In 1896 bimetalism was the issue. From the platform my views were stated with all sincerity that we were then fighting one of the world's decisive battles; that we were submitting at the bar of public opinion the merits of the bimetallic cause, and that if then lost it was lost forever. Viewing the magnificent prosperity of the nation to-day, for one I can "rejoice with them that do rejoice," even if I can not obey the command to "weep with them that weep," if any such there be.

The future status of silver as money, in my opinion, will not be determined by the result of some great political campaign, but rather by the concurrent consent of the world's industrial and commercial enterprises.

While I believe that violent fluctuations in value are less liable with two metals than with one, nevertheless I am constrained to the opinion that silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 is not and can not again be an issue of overshadowing importance. Events which have followed, due to the wisdom of no political party, have so changed conditions that a cause that was sacred in 1896 may be ridiculous in some later year.

No man who advocated bimetalism complains of rising prices. It was with that end in view, it was for the farmers, the artisans, and the wage-earners of this nation that we made the contest. We advocated bimetalism and the cause of silver and assured the people that following its adoption prices would rise and the products of labor command higher recompense. We cared not what the color of the metal might be which should measure the products of toil. We demanded alone that in volume it should be sufficient to measure the entire capacity of industry engaged in useful production.

And whether this bill shall pass or fail, the enormous development of gold production has so set in motion and will so set in motion all the energies of production and development that capital may safely embark upon new enterprises, that investment will be augmented, and that a man will be justified in incurring indebtedness under an appreciating quantity of money and be entitled to expect substantial returns where, even with the highest degree of judgment under a diminishing volume of money, disaster was ever imminent.

For twenty-five years the farmers of our nation have traveled through the "slough of despond." I believe the burden is soon to fall from their backs, and that the producer of all the world's wealth will again be the king among men and an independent sovereign in his own homestead. The area of tillable land throughout the world to-day is substantially occupied. With increasing population and commercial expansion, agricultural production must stir itself to keep pace with increasing demand.

To some features of this bill I can yield my most cordial assent. I believe that the permission to issue bank notes to the par value of bonds deposited should be accorded. I believe the tax upon circulation should be removed, and that the banks' proportion of taxation for the protection which they should enjoy should be placed upon capital and surplus, and that nothing may hinder an outflow to the people of a volume of representative money equal to the demand of an ever increasing and expanding commerce. I also deem the provision for banks with \$25,000 capital for small towns beneficent in its tendencies. My approval, however, can not be given to that feature which makes every dollar of both paper and silver a certificate of indebtedness against the United States Government.

I have introduced and at the proper time shall attempt to secure recognition for and approval of a bill the merits of which within my time I shall briefly outline, entitled "A bill to provide a safe and elastic currency, automatically expanding and contracting as the business needs of the nation may demand." In different form this bill has been before presented to Congress—in the Fifty-second Congress, I believe—by my learned friend from Tennessee [Mr. Cox], and heretofore objection has been made that while there may be an outflowing currency from the Treasury in time of crisis, there would not be an inflowing currency when money might be so redundant as to provoke hazardous and perilous speculation. Permit me to read the text of the bill, which,

doubtless, in its phraseology and form may be much improved upon:

Be it enacted, etc., That any holder of United States bonds may deposit the same in the Treasury or any subtreasury of the United States, receiving therefor 80 per cent of the face of such bonds. The Treasury notes so issued shall be receivable for public and private dues under the provisions of law now applied to national currency issued by national banks of the United States. During the time of deposit of such bonds all interest thereupon shall cease, or be covered into the United States Treasury. Upon the presentation of the Treasury certificate of deposit, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe, together with payment of Treasury notes equal in amount to the sum advanced by the Treasury upon such bonds, the owner of the bonds may withdraw them and again convert the same to his own use.

Some four weeks since the Secretary of the Treasury advertised to purchase twenty-five millions of bonds. For this action he has in some quarters been sharply criticized. It is, however, the opinion of men well informed, and whose opinion I share, that by this action alone was a monetary panic averted in the city of New York. Panics are like contagions—they grow upon that on which they feed. It may occur in some future crisis that the Treasury will not be in condition to purchase bonds, or that the price which the Treasurer may fix may be below their market value. Under the provisions of such an act as I have outlined, additional value is given to every bond outstanding in the United States.

There are outstanding bonds of the United States amounting to more than \$800,000,000 in excess of those pledged to secure the circulation of national banks. These are held throughout various portions of the United States by banks and private individuals. Whenever a monetary stringency occurs the holders of those bonds, upon depositing them, may draw out 80 per cent of their face value in Treasury notes. The relief to be afforded would not be confined alone to New York or the great money centers, but would be a relief extended to every portion of the United States where a local crisis or demand might arise.

The Government would be the gainer in the cessation of interest upon all deposited bonds, and the commercial world relieved from the threat of financial disaster, a foundation for the currency so broad and so secure that there will be required no introduction of the schemes similar to those originated by John Law to afford an abundant and elastic currency.

The owner of the bonds forfeits his interest upon his bonds and draws out his money only when the demand for money would make, and at the face value of the bonds would in industry yield, more than the interest upon the bonds at their par value. When the demand for money slackens the money flows back to the Treasury, and the regulation of the outgoing and incoming current follows the natural and legitimate demands of business alone.

This plan has been submitted by me to many men eminent in financial affairs, and while it has not commanded an expression of approval from all yet none have been able to state an objection of any character whatsoever or to give a reason or hazard an opinion that such a bill would fail to provide a currency solid at its base and elastic and automatic in its operations.

Mr. Chairman, many years ago Hume, the historian, wrote:

A state is never greater than when all its superfluous hands are employed in the service of the public.

Viewing the magnificent prosperity which to-day abounds, seeing the commercial instinct and genius of America engaged in the peaceable conquest of the markets of the world; beholding every American furnace stack blazing, every forge glowing, with every loom clicking, and every spindle humming; urgent drafts upon the treasure stored in our mines of coal, iron, lead, copper, and all the precious metals to supply a constantly increasing demand; noting the marked increase in price received by the producers of petroleum, cotton, wool, and other products of the soil, which has lifted the burden of care and enkindled hope in tens of thousands of homes; witnessing the exports of the products of American factories and American workmen progressing by leaps and bounds until they reached more than \$339,000,000 last year; with our revenues, even in the presence of extraordinary expenditures for suppression of a revolt in our newly acquired possessions, promising to yield a substantial surplus; witnessing every locomotive and every car taxed to its limit, and every vessel laden to the Plimsoll mark to carry our products to market; a prosperity not bounded by parallels of latitude, by mountain range, or sea; reading only last week of voluntary advance of 10 per cent in the wages of 20,000 operatives in the woolen industry, and reading of these advances every week in all branches of industry for the last two years; viewing a condition where each man who has a day's work for sale finds within the reach of his arm a ready purchaser for that day's work at the highest price ever known in history; witnessing every man in the enjoyment of the God-given right to eat his own bread in the sweat of his own brow; retaining the most vivid recollections of the soup houses maintained to prevent the starvation of strong and willing American manhood, and for the support of which many of us were called upon to contribute. I, for one, have no pride of political opinion which I will place as a barrier to impede the triumphal march of the present order of affairs. With Amer-

ican homes bathed in the golden sunshine of prosperity my partisanship shrivels, as it ought, and my patriotism exults, as it should.

To my mind, every proposition in restraint of legitimate trade, every measure which in its tendencies may carry covert threat to our industries, every new scheme of dreamers and theorists, should be carefully weighed by members on both sides of this chamber who aim to be statesmen rather than mere politicians; not to make records for an impending Presidential contest, with which we may appeal to the prejudices or partiality of blind partisans, but with wise conservatism weighing, assaying, and analyzing all measures, and when in doubt let us rather stand still than rush headlong into untrodden paths.

Whatever our views political may be, love of country is not bounded by lines of party. The man or set of men who for political success would drag the car of progress which has emerged from the miasmatic lowlands back into the dismal swamp of despair is a worthy member of no party. I do not think there is such a one on this side of the Chamber. If there be such a one on either side of this body, may we all providentially escape from his leadership.

Mr. Chairman, I have thus, in a desultory manner, stated some of my objections to the pending measure and have trespassed upon the time of this body with statements of my personal views, not because I have deemed an apology necessary for my views in the past or my position in the present. Each Representative in Congress must answer to his own constituency and to his own conscience as to his individual and representative duty.

If there be those who deem my position to-day inconsistent with views which I have heretofore expressed upon the floor of this House, I glory in that inconsistency which permits me to set aside the useful implement of yesterday because the development of the genius of the present affords me a better implement ready for my use to-day.

And so long as I may be honored with a seat in this body and during the term for which I am elected to serve in public life, and in my retirement, so long as life is spared, I shall believe with the poet that—

New occasions teach new duties;
Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must onward still, and upward,
Who would keep abreast of Truth.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. DALY] is recognized for ten minutes.

Mr. DALY of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, this is the first time in four years that the party to which I belong has had a representation in this Chamber from my State. There are two of us here now; and if conditions continue as they are on the other side, there will be eight of us here at the next election. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Action such as that now pending upon a measure that has not received the sanction of a House committee, I assume, has never before been attempted except by the Republican party. It is a bad and vicious practice, and I do not wonder at the criticism of the minority when they arraign the Republican party for this unseemly haste in forcing this measure without that preparation so important a measure justly merits. Months of time have been given the Republican party for preparation, due to the appointment last February of a caucus monetary committee. On the opening of Congress this bill was framed, and every member of the majority was in possession of a prepared statement in explanation of its features.

The debate upon this measure has assumed many phases, but in reality the bill itself proposes absolutely to put in force a single gold standard. The doctrine of monometallism is modern; it is in direct conflict with our Constitution, and it is the first time in the history of our country that it has ever been suggested on the floor of Congress. No one has ever dared to stand for such a radical measure. The great minds of the country believed in the principles of the double standard. Many differed as to the principle to be applied in fixing the ratio, some believing that Congress had the arbitrary right, and others that Congress should regulate it by the laws of commerce and trade. The double standard was born of the minds of Jefferson and Hamilton, who paved the way for our country's greatness, and it is a part of our country's system that should forever remain.

This is evidenced by the fact that through every stage of our advancement and the many changes of party the Constitution has remained inviolate; gold and silver have been and are the money of the country. This is also evidenced by the protest made by the many distinguished statesmen who, when they discovered the demonetization of silver by the act of 1873, protested most strongly against it, and declared their ignorance of the passage of an act that caused that demonetization. Mr. Blaine declared on the 15th day of February, 1878, that he did not know anything that was in the bill at all, and Mr. ALLISON, of Iowa, declared the bill was doctored.

Mr. Burchard, of Illinois, declared that, "unaccompanied by a report, unknown to members of Congress, who, without opposition, allowed it to pass," and Mr. CANNON, of Illinois, "It was not discussed, as shown by the record." I might quote the expressions and sentiments of others in this same line, but enough has been said to impress the mind with the belief that the great leaders of the Republican party were opposed to the striking down of silver as a standard of value. Both political parties declared against a single standard when they solemnly pledged themselves to the use of gold and silver in their platforms. The Republican party in 1888 declared as follows:

The Republican party is in favor of the use of gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

In 1892 it declared:

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetalism, and the Republican party demands the use of gold and silver as money with such restrictions and with such provisions.

In 1896 it declared:

We are opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such an agreement can be made, etc.

In the Republican Campaign Book of 1896, issued by the national and Congressional committees, this proposition was declared:

Of the three measures, i. e., gold monometallism, silver monometallism, and bimetalism, the large majority of the people of the United States unquestionably favor bimetalism. It is the middle-ground between the ultra-fraction element, as well as historical and constitutional ground.

Mr. GAINES. What book are you reading from?

Mr. DALY of New Jersey. From the Campaign Book of 1896, issued by the Congressional and Republican campaign committee of that year.

With declarations such as these, and upon which the Republican party has so frequently gone before the people, it will be wondered why this complete change of base. It is but a few years ago when some of the members on this floor declared with all their ability and eloquence against any proposal looking to the striking down of silver as a standard money, and none was more vehement, eloquent, and persuasive than the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. GROSVENOR. Let me read what he said. The House having under discussion, on the 14th day of February, 1895, joint resolution No. 275, authorizing the issue of \$65,116,275 of gold 3 per cent bonds, the distinguished gentleman said:

Fellow-Republicans, let me read to you our platform, the declaration of our principles upon which we have marched to both victory and defeat. In 1888 we said: "The Republican party is in favor of gold and silver as money and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver." In 1892 we said: "The Republican party from tradition and interest favors bimetalism, and the Republican party demands the use of gold and silver as standard money." These are the declarations of our party, and, Mr. Speaker, as one faithful to this platform declaration, I will not vote for this measure.

Again, in criticising the provisions of the bill the distinguished gentleman further said:

You said, "Give us a coin bond and we will let you have the money at 3 per cent; give us a gold bond and we will charge you only 3 per cent. We make a difference of sixteen and a half millions of dollars in a period of thirty years." Why do you do it? We say you do it because in one case our bond would be payable in silver and in the other your bond would be payable in gold, and you get sixteen and one-half millions of dollars in our money for the purpose of compensating you for the difference between gold and silver.

The Republican party refused to sanction the issue of a gold bond and refused to have the policy of the Government changed from the issuing of coin bonds to that of gold. You were in line with the declarations of your party and refused to create a disparagement as against the coin bond. You looked upon it then as of equal merit with that of gold and would not permit the change to be made, as suggested by the banking syndicate of New York. This, too, was at a time when you might have afforded to be generous. Our country was passing through a financial panic such as it had never before experienced. Every industry was crying for help and our country's obligations were threatened with dishonor.

Mr. Cleveland was pleading for money and, in the hope of obtaining the sixty millions or more to meet the emergency, caused the resolution to be introduced for the issue of that amount in gold bonds. Your prostrate country appealed to your sympathies in vain. But you stood, you declared, for the Constitution; you stood for your party's declaration; and in your position you were sustained by your colleagues, Mr. HOPKINS, of Illinois and Mr. HEPBURN, of Iowa, and others, aided by that peerless citizen of Nebraska, William Jennings Bryan. What a scene was that, my colleagues! The warrior from Ohio, Mr. GROSVENOR, and the statesman of Nebraska clasping hands in the common cause of preventing the destruction of bimetalism.

How things have changed since then! The Constitution must now be violated! The standard money of the country must be stricken down at the behest of the money changers to pay the obligations connected with Mr. McKinley's election. You know

the fountains of wealth—the banks—never failed you during the campaign of 1896, and you ardently hope that they will perform the same duty for the coming campaign if this legislation asked for is placed upon the statute books. You say in answer to the arraignment of my party that we have virtually been on a gold basis for years and that the Republican party declared to the people that as soon as the opportunity offered, it would put the practice into the shape of positive law. This I challenge, and I have no hesitancy in saying that not a member on this floor ever made such a declaration. If he did, or his party ever assumed that position, the party would never have been in control of the Administration of this Government.

One of the reasons urged for the passage of this most unjust measure is that the conditions are favorable and the time opportune for the adoption of the gold standard, based upon the theory that the gold standard has been adopted in Austria-Hungary, Brazil, Great Britain, Chile, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey, Costa Rica, Japan, Peru, Russia, and other European and South American countries; therefore, forsooth, my country must bow to foreign policy. I say to you that I care not if the balance of the civilized world adopted it—the single gold standard. My country is greater, my country is more enlightened, its wants are greater, we are all freemen; therefore we need more money to maintain this glorious position than the unfortunate slaves and pauper labor of monarchical Europe.

If this single gold standard is such a magnificent institution abroad, why do the immigrants flock to our shore. [Applause on the Democratic side.] I will tell you. They pay labor on a gold standard, and that is the reason why these immigrants come to this country, glad to partake of the benefits of our institutions and leave behind them forever all remembrance of the poverty and misery they suffered from low wages and the single standard. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

American labor rightfully demands eight hours for a day's work; the American laborer justly asks for higher wages; the American laborer has that ambition and that personality required for good citizenship which makes him desire to surround his family with all the comforts of life and afford education for his children. These can not be obtained under a single gold standard or a contracted currency.

By one sweeping provision the entire bond obligations of this Government are turned into gold bonds, thereby increasing their market value. At no time was it ever legally insisted that the word "coin" carried with it the meaning of gold only. It has ever been contended by leading Republicans that notwithstanding the Government authorities construed them into gold obligations, yet the legal effect and true construction were that the same might be liquidated in silver.

I can not vote for any measure that by legislation will give increased value to the obligation. It was strictly contended by the Republicans that the Democrats by legislation intended to give a value to the silver dollar when we declared the power was in Congress to fix the ratio. It is this thing you are now doing that you charged upon the Democratic party when it declared for the proposition of 16 to 1, that it was proposed to fix value by legislation. Such legislation as you now contemplate places at a disadvantage he who earns his bread by his daily toil.

The redemption of the silver dollar and other circulating mediums, as this bill proposes, means contraction of the currency. Call it by what name you please, or you may designate it by the name of the "issue and redemption fund," yet it means that the money circulating in the channels of trade can be and will be retired by the redemption process and forever impounded and locked up, and thereby place us all at the mercy of the national banks. It means that the national banks will have every debtor at their mercy. It means that the national banks can raise the measure of discount to such an arbitrary standard that the struggling merchant must sooner or later go to the wall, and, on the other hand, the favored ones may keep on adding to their revenues. It is a bank trust, and it holds our business industries at their mercy.

Our Republican friends are boasting of prosperity, and boasting, too, that in a large measure it came through the policy pursued by the Republican party. This claim we deny. We say to you that if it is true, then it is dangerous to attempt to change or make innovation upon the existing laws relating to our monetary system which produced these results. Three hundred and thirty-seven million have been added to the circulation without the aid of legislation. This has in a great degree produced these prosperous times. Why should we now contract our currency? If this increased amount of money has increased the per capita circulation from \$21 to \$24, then why reduce to the old figures? If our industries are thriving and labor is well paid, why provide the means of destroying those conditions, which this bill will most assuredly do? Rather let our object be in time of plenty to prepare for famine.

The proposition to make every dollar of our currency redeemable

in gold has never before been advanced in this country, nor in any other. Why, then, coin silver at all? A Treasury note or gold certificate would perform the same service in the channels of business. If we are to strike down silver, as this bill proposes, we might as well make the destruction complete, for it will have no value as a circulating medium.

You will give the Secretary of the Treasury unlimited power to issue bonds, and at the same time give the national banks power to force bond issues. The Republican party condemned the Cleveland Administration for this same policy, as also did in reality the Democratic party. But if Mr. Cleveland's Administration was dictated by his banking friends, the same friends and the Cleveland allies combined to bring about the election of Mr. McKinley. This bill is their reward.

The unfairness of the pending measure is again apparent in the proposed method of taxing banks. They are to be taxed upon the basis of their capital and surplus. This is but an experiment against a tried policy which has prevailed since the inception of national banks; is a virtual reduction of their tax. Furthermore, why tax the surplus? That is a tax upon the people's money, as the surplus stands as the security of those who deposit.

While the absolute fixing of the ratio between gold and silver at 16 to 1 may not appear to me to be practicable, owing to the now changing conditions and to the power of the banks, there are few who will not agree with me that the money of the country could best stand upon a bimetallic basis.

But the Government is transferring the control of the money supply to the banks, notwithstanding the fact that the issuance of money is distinctly a Federal function, and the Government can not, in justice to the whole people, delegate that power to individuals.

The responsibility now rests upon the Republican party, and they must stand or fall upon the success or failure of this plan. I am opposed to this bill, not because of the question of ratio between the money metals, but because it leaves us at the mercy of unscrupulous financiers, strikes down bimetallicism, and will not prevent contraction when a critical time arrives. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BURKE] is recognized for fifteen minutes.

Mr. BURKE of Texas. Mr. Chairman, those of us who were here at the beginning of the extra session of the Fifty-fifth Congress, which convened on the 15th day of March, 1897, can see the similarity of the action of the majority of the present Congress and that one in forcing a party measure through the House over the protest of the minority and without regard to the time or manner in which it comes before the House. At the extra session of the last Congress the Dingley tariff bill was before the House, and at that time there sat in this Hall 153 new members, possibly not one of whom had ever read a clause of that bill, and yet the measure was forced through the House by the Republican majority without giving adequate time for its proper discussion.

But, Mr. Chairman, that bill was referred to the proper committee and duly reported to the House, while here at the beginning of the present session we have this measure presented to the House, affecting to a far greater extent the interests of the American people than did the Dingley tariff bill, and its passage demanded by the majority without its having been referred to any committee for deliberation and action, as the rules of the House require. I know, Mr. Chairman, that nothing that can be said on this side of the House will alter or change the determination of the majority on this floor to carry into effect their caucus edict and pass this bill. I recognize this fact fully, but duty to ourselves, as well as to those who sent us here, impels many of us to register our objection and not only vote against the measure, but give some of our reasons why such a departure from the financial system which has heretofore served the American people should not receive the sanction of the American Congress.

Mr. Chairman, during the discussion of this bill some strange things have been said on the floor of the House. I do not see the gentleman in his seat to-day, but I think it was the day before yesterday the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. DOLLIVER] made a statement that was absolutely astounding, at least to my ears. He declared in his dulcet tones—and we all love to listen to the gentleman, for he always speaks interestingly and charmingly on any subject he discusses—he declared that it was known to the people of the United States that we had been on the single gold standard since 1834.

Such a statement, Mr. Chairman, coming from such a source, I am unable to harmonize with the facts as they exist, for certainly no one knows better than does the distinguished gentleman that from the date of the first coinage laws of this country, in 1793, down to 1873, a period of about eighty years, this country enjoyed the blessings of bimetallicism; gold and silver went concurrently to the mints, and were received and coined there at the ratio fixed and established by law, first at 15 and afterwards at 16 to 1; and,

Mr. Chairman, I submit to the House to-day that from the dawn of civilization to this good moment the history of the world shows no people who ever prospered and grew as did the American people the first eighty years of our national life.

We have no way of judging the future except by looking to the past, and, judged by that standard, Mr. Chairman, I ask if bimetallicism served the purposes of this Government and the people so well during the first eighty years of the nation's life, why would it not in the future continue to answer every demand? Only a few moments ago the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. CRUMPACKER] stated that no great government, no enlightened country—I believe were his exact words—had ever yet adopted bimetallicism. That was another strange assertion to make on the floor of the American Congress, in view of the facts of history, doubtless well known to the gentleman who made the assertion.

Considerable merriment was caused yesterday by the gentleman from Washington [Mr. CUSHMAN]. He stated that the Democratic party had crossed itself so often on the money question if a Democrat should walk around the block and meet himself on the other side he would not know which one of the boys he was. [Laughter.] I thought then the gentleman was rather unfortunate in the illustration sought to be drawn. It occurred to me that if the distinguished member from Illinois [Mr. CANNON] and the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR], entertaining the opinion they once held and that which they now hold on the money question, should meet themselves around a block, possibly there would be no nod of recognition [laughter], and I am quite sure, Mr. Chairman, if the distinguished occupant of the White House, President McKinley, should go around the block and meet that other gentleman with whom he used to be on terms of familiarity, Congressman McKinley, there would be no nod of recognition [loud laughter], for Congressman McKinley was a bimetallicist and the friend of silver, while we all know President McKinley is a gold monometallicist and is unfriendly to silver.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, the leaders of the Republican party, in Congress and out of it, have crossed themselves as often on the money question as any Democrat may have done, but I suppose they reconcile this change of opinion with the thought that "wise men often change their opinions and fools never do." Who are the wise and who are the foolish on this question I will not assume to say. Mr. Chairman, this bill, in my judgment, is vicious from start to finish. The very first declaration it contains fixes irrevocably and for all time to come the single gold standard on the American people. The Republican party in their national platform adopted at St. Louis in 1896 declared in favor of international bimetallicism, and, Mr. Chairman, I submit to the House if that declaration was honestly made, then the majority on the floor of this House to-day are not sincere in their determination to pass this bill and the converse of this is equally true.

If the majority of this House are sincere and honestly believe the provisions of this bill are best for the interests of the American people, then the Republican party was not sincere and deceived and misled the people when they declared for bimetallicism in any way, international or otherwise. Supplemented to this, Mr. Chairman, is the further fact, well known to all, that the gentlemen sent to Europe by the President in 1897 in the interests of international bimetallicism were hampered and possibly defeated in their purposes by the actions and outspoken declarations of the Secretary of the Treasury in favor of the single gold standard and his advocacy of a measure similar to the one now under discussion. It was impossible to make the people of Europe believe that those in authority honestly wanted bimetallicism while the Secretary of the Treasury, voicing no doubt the policy of the Administration, was publicly declaring his hostility to everything except the single gold standard.

The second section of this bill, Mr. Chairman, to my mind, is possibly worse than any other section in it. It provides for the payment of all interest-bearing obligations of the United States for the payment of money, now existing or hereafter to be entered into, and all United States notes and Treasury notes issued under the law of July 14, 1890, shall be deemed and held to be payable in gold coin, and all other obligations, public and private, for the payment of money shall be paid in gold. Every bond now outstanding against this Government and every other obligation to pay money is payable in coin; that is, in either gold or silver, at the option of the Government. The bondholders in this country and in Europe have been at work since the close of the civil war to have these obligations paid in gold, and at last they have found a Republican House, Senate, and President ready and willing to grant their inequitable and illegal demands.

The gentleman in charge of this bill [Mr. OVERSTREET] stated that this change from coin to gold in the payment of Government obligations would not benefit the holders of such obligations. If this be true, why have these holders for years and years been demanding this change? No one is here who will say that the great producing and laboring masses of the American people have ever advocated or desired that gold should be substituted for coin in these

obligations. Why, Mr. Chairman, during the Administration of Mr. Cleveland, while there was pending a proposition to sell Government bonds—\$62,000,000, I think—a strong effort was made to have them made payable in gold, and the reason was urged that these bonds would sell for \$16,000,000 more if the word "gold" were substituted for "coin."

Congress refused to sanction the change, and, sir, in the face of these facts, we have members here who voted against this change and are now favoring it, and who declare with apparent frankness and candor that the bondholders will derive no benefits from the proposed change. The total interest-bearing debt of the United States is \$1,046,048,750. If the gain suggested in the sale of these bonds while Cleveland was President be correct, then it will be readily seen that the bondholders pocket the snug sum of about \$261,000,000 by way of enhanced value of the interest-bearing debt of the Government, caused by changing the word "coin" for "gold;" and, Mr. Chairman, who pays this \$261,000,000 into the pockets of the bondholders? We all know that Government bonds are exempt from all taxation, national, State, and municipal; therefore they contribute nothing. It falls on the shoulders of that class whose voice is rarely heard pressing their claims for Government favor—the producing and laboring millions of American citizens. These are they who furnish support and sustenance for the Government in times of peace and who rally in defense of her flag in time of war.

I wish I had the time, Mr. Chairman, to discuss each of the eleven sections of this bill, but I have not. I will, however, call the attention of the House to section 4. This, in my judgment, is dangerous in that it confers on the Secretary of the Treasury the right and authority to issue and sell bonds at his discretion for the purpose of maintaining the redemption fund provided for in section 3 of the bill. I wish, sir, to emphasize my distinct opposition to this feature of the bill. I object to the grant of such authority to anyone, and Congress should never give to any one man, I care not who he may be, the power and authority to saddle untold millions of indebtedness on the people of the United States. These bonds, if issued, are payable in gold at the end of twenty years, and will draw interest at 3 per cent per annum; and, as before said, the limit to the amount to be issued is absolutely discretionary with the Secretary.

Much has been said, Mr. Chairman, by gentlemen about the operation of what is termed the "endless chain" in the Treasury Department. We have heard much about it and read much about it, but I say to the membership of this House to-day that if this bill becomes a law (and I believe it will) this "endless chain" will be transferred from the windows of the paying and receiving clerks in the Treasury to the bond-issuing department, and there the "endless chain" will work, as occasion demands, until there will be riveted around the necks of the American people a bonded debt such as has been seldom borne by any nation.

The eighth section gives unheard-of privileges to national banks and enlarges their powers so that they may be able to either contract or expand the currency at their own will and pleasure, as it may be profitable for them to do.

It is suggested by gentlemen that under the provisions of this bill national banks could issue their notes to the full extent of the bonds deposited and that this would result in a much larger circulating medium. Experience shows that when times are easy bank circulation expands and when money is stringent the reverse is the case.

The truth is, Mr. Chairman, the issuance of money, whether of gold, silver, or paper, is the special function of the Government, and the authority to give to the people a safe, sound, and stable currency should never be delegated to any bank, national, State, or private.

A careful reading of this bill by anyone who is disposed to consider it on its merits will convince him that the effect of its enactment will be to reduce the circulating medium of the country, thereby contracting the circulation now outstanding.

Mr. Chairman, with one exception, no political party has ever yet declared in favor of the single gold standard, and the Gold Democrats who did so declare in 1896 only carried one small precinct in the United States.

I may be mistaken, sir, but I believe a large majority of the people of this country are opposed to the financial system sought to be established by this bill. Some may indulge the hope that the passage of this bill will sound the political death knell of the party responsible for its enactment; but whether these hopes be realized or not, the passage of this measure signalizes the fact that the Republican party has surrendered unconditionally to the money power in this country. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. TERRY. Mr. Chairman, you fellows on the other side have been talking like you thought that we Democrats were fools, and occasionally one of you, with more brass than brains, says he knows we are. My answer to such a fellow is that he thinks he

knows it, but he thinks what Patterson dreamt. Patterson dreamt a lie. [Applause and laughter.]

It is sometimes a case of Hobson's choice as between a fool and a knave, but, whatever else you may be, there is a big gang of your fellows that are not fools, but you think that you can fool the American people. In your speeches you are trying to mix up and muddy the money question and thereby hide the real nature of your acts. I propose to call attention to the hornbook principles and the bed-rock fundamentals upon which the issue really turns—the standard of value. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

In order to clearly understand that issue we must first understand what is meant by a standard of value.

There will be other issues, and very vital ones, involved in the campaign of 1900, but the battle royal that will be waged in every State of this Union will be the same that it was in 1896—the battle of the standards. You fellows seem to flatter yourselves that that issue was settled forever in your favor in the election of 1896, but you forget that no question submitted to the ballot is ever settled among the American people until it is settled right. The so-called decision in your favor was not fairly won, and so sure as there is a God of justice who reigns in heaven and rules in the affairs of men on earth, that decision will one day be reversed by an overwhelming majority of the American people.

Truth crushed to earth shall rise again,—
The eternal years of God are hers;
But Error, smitten, writhes in pain,
And dies amid her worshippers.

In the limited time allotted to me I will discuss the real issue involved in the banker bill now before the House, and that is, the *standard of value* it proposes to fasten upon the American people.

In order to understand that, we must first understand what is the real meaning and function of the *standard of value*. Much error has been engendered in financial discussions by confusing the different functions of money and using arguments applicable to money in one function, but utterly without any logical force as applied to it in an entirely separate and distinct function. According to all recognized authorities on political economy money has at least three separate functions: First, as a medium of exchange; second, as a measure of value; third, as a *standard of value*.

Now let us examine these different functions of money.

What is its function as a medium of exchange?

Simply this: Suppose there was no such thing as money for a medium of exchange and a farmer went to town with chickens, butter, and eggs to trade for sugar, coffee, and calico; what would he have to do to make a trade? He would have to find not only a man who had sugar, coffee, and calico to trade off, but a man who was willing to trade them off for chickens, butter, and eggs, and that might be hard to do; but with money as a medium of exchange the farmer sells his truck for that, and when once he gets that in his hands, he has no trouble in finding a man who will be willing to trade him sugar, coffee, and calico for that.

Now, what is meant by money in its function as a measure of value? Simply this: Suppose there were no money as a measure of values and a farmer wants to trade off a mule. If he meets a man with wheat and he asks him, "What is the value of your mule; what will you take for him?" he would have to figure out his value in wheat, and then he might say, "This is a 60 bushels of wheat mule." He meets another man with corn, and he says, "What will you take for your mule?" It would do no good to tell that fellow it was a 60 bushels of wheat mule, and so he would have to figure out his worth in corn, and so on with every other commodity he might be willing to trade him for; but with money as a measure of value he simply estimates his value in money, and as the owner of the wheat and corn has already done the same thing with reference to his product, each has a common measure of value and understands the other at once.

This brings us to its third and, in this discussion, its most important function—that of a *standard of value*. This requires a more extended consideration.

The standard of value of any obligation, whether public or private, is that substance or thing which will not only legally discharge the obligation, but the right to demand which, will determine the value of the obligation itself, as compared with other things. Suppose, for instance, an obligation calls for the delivery of so many bushels of wheat; what is the standard of value of that contract. Wheat will discharge it, and the worth or value of wheat at any particular time will determine the worth or value of the contract at that time. Now, suppose a whole lot of shrewd fellows with thousands and millions of wheat contracts in their pockets want Government aid to enhance the value of their holdings; how could they do it?

Wheat is a standard article of human food, and when it is unduly scarce or high, poor people can use corn meal for bread. So the shrewd holders of wheat contracts get up an agitation against the use of corn bread as human food. They get a report from a

medical commission that the use of corn bread is unwholesome, and that the Government, in the interests of public health, ought to pass a law to forbid its use, and a subservient Congress should be found to pass a law closing the mills against corn as they did closing the mints against the free coinage of silver. Would not such a law enhance the value of every wheat contract in the world and depreciate the value of corn? Such was the precise effect of the Sherman Act of 1873 in closing the mints against silver. You now propose to consummate that base conspiracy against the rights of the plain people of America.

You propose in this bill to say, whatever may have been the law before this time, that hereafter no silver dollar shall be any part of the standard of value, but that gold alone shall be the standard of value of all obligations of the people of these United States. And yet gentlemen stand up here and say that such a law is not in the interest of the bondholders, bankers, and other large holders of Government obligations! You propose to say that these large holders of such obligations shall be absolutely entitled to receive 25.8 grains of standard gold, coined at the Government mints, for each and every dollar called for in the obligations.

The number of such obligations will foot up to many hundred millions of dollars, and the passage of this law will necessarily enormously increase the demand for gold and thereby enormously increase its value, and as an increase in the value of any substance or thing, which is the standard of value of an obligation, necessarily increases the value of such obligation, the passage of this bill will naturally tend to increase the purchasing power of every dollar of paper or representative money based upon the single gold standard, just as surely as an increase in the demand for wheat would naturally tend to increase the value of all contracts based on wheat. Of course, a large increase in the mining output of gold would hold such tendency in check, and if such increase in the gold output is followed by an increase in the volume of circulation, it would naturally tend to raise the general level in the prices of commodities that would have to be exchanged for a currency based on gold.

The great increase in the world's output of gold (amounting now to about \$300,000,000, as against about \$300,000,000 a few years ago) and the large amount of money put into circulation by the war with Spain and the Philippines explain nearly all the rise in prices not brought about by a diminished supply of certain products or the manipulations of certain trusts and combines to unduly increase the prices of products controlled by them. In other words, the purchasing power or value of money is controlled by the same great law of supply and demand that applies to everything else. The scarcer anything is the harder it is to get, and the harder anything is to get, the more you have to pay in order to obtain it. The most eminent writers on political economy tell us that money is bought and sold the same as other things. You may not call it a sale, but, in substance, that is what it is. A boy brings potatoes to sell. There is a merchant willing to exchange money for potatoes. If potatoes are scarce and money reasonably plentiful, the boy gets more money for his potatoes and the merchant gets less potatoes for his money. If potatoes are reasonably plentiful or money scarce, the boy who sells potatoes and buys money gets less money and the merchant who sells money and buys potatoes gets more potatoes.

These are merely plain and simple principles, Mr. Chairman; but these plain principles constitute the lunacy of the silver lunatics. [Applause on the Democratic side.] You are fond of telling the people that the great law of supply and demand, and not the volume of currency, determines prices. In telling that you tell a half truth, and a half truth is always a lie. Our Gold-Bug friends are always talking about the law of supply and demand as applied to the product of the farmer, but they fail to tell us that that same law applies to money also. It takes four elements to determine prices: First and second, the supply and demand of the particular products; third and fourth, the supply and demand for money that such products have to be exchanged for.

Now, in regard to "silver lunatics," Thomas Jefferson tells us that he was denounced as a madman or a lunatic by the bankers and money sharks in his day. It is curious how history repeats itself. In 1796 Thomas Jefferson was defeated for the Presidency by John Adams, but four years later he ran against the same man, and in the year 1800 Thomas Jefferson was elected President of these United States. History may repeat itself in the year 1900, and then William J. Bryan will be the President of these United States. [Applause on the Democratic side.] The fundamental difference between the Democratic and Republican policies on the standard of value is that the Democrats want to allow debtors in all obligations, public or private, their old common-law right of paying their obligations in either gold, silver, or paper money, based upon the bimetallic standard established by our forefathers in 1792, and which was the supreme law of the land from 1792 to the passage of the Sherman Act of 1873.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. TERRY. I understood that I was to have five minutes more.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I yield the gentleman five minutes more.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. TERRY. If an annual mining output of three hundred millions of gold will advance prosperity in a country on the single gold standard, how much greater would be that prosperity from an output of five hundred millions of gold and silver combined in a country using both gold and silver as its standard value? The Republican policy is to narrow the base of primary money and the Democratic policy is to broaden it. The Republican policy is in the interest of the money classes. The Democratic policy is in the interest of the toiling masses, who produce the wealth and constitute the bone and sinew of the country, who pay its taxes and uphold the honor of its flag. No man can safely predict how long the present large output in gold will continue, and whenever it begins to fall off, all of your much boasted jackdaw McKinley prosperity will pass away, and, like an "insubstantial pageant faded, leave not a wrack behind."

The introduction and passage of this bill will mark the final and absolute surrender of the Republican party leaders to the gold syndicate and money power that poured out its millions of corruption fund to make McKinley President in 1896. You propose to abdicate national functions in favor of national banks, to surrender to private corporations the power to control the volume of the money supply of all this land.

With this power of the national banks to control the volume of the country's currency, they can expand or contract it at will. When they want to inflate the values of properties or securities owned or controlled by them or their friends, they can expand it and dispose of what they want to sell at the top of a boom, and then contract it and gather in what they want to buy at the bottom of a collapse. They can thus, by alternate expansions and contractions, absolutely control and dominate the property interests of the entire people of the United States and make themselves their masters.

This was clearly pointed out by John C. Calhoun in a speech delivered by him in the United States Senate in 1833. To confer such powers upon national banks is a base surrender of the rights of the people, and should forever damn any set of men or political party responsible for it.

In this bill you are giving away the very birthright of national government for the mess of pottage you got from the election of 1896; and a miserable mess it was, if we may judge from the way in which your Administration has been truckling to the spirit of English toadyism—yielding to un-American influences and turning its back upon many of the most cherished principles and traditions of the great American people.

What has England, the head center of the gold syndicate, been engaged in? She tried to grab the gold fields from Venezuela, and finally, through the decision of a high joint commission, got the lion's share of what she coveted. She has now cast her covetous eyes on the gold fields of Alaska, and even while her colonial secretary is prating about the beauties of an Anglo-American alliance, she is strengthening her military posts on this continent, and has her guns all trained toward us from Vancouver to Quebec.

She is also grabbing for the gold fields of Africa, and, to exploit her gold syndicate, is waging against the gallant Boers the most unjust and un-Christian war ever waged by one Christian people against another—against the gallant Boers battling for liberty in the Transvaal. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

In fighting the passage of this bill we stand where Jefferson stood, when he warned his countrymen against the money sharks in the dawn of the present century. We stand where Jackson stood, when he fought the United States Bank in his day. We stand where Lincoln stood when he uttered his solemn warning to the American people to beware of the insidious and rapid growth of the corporation and banking power and the bondholder trust, whose vast influence now overshadows all the land. We stand where the true, the brave, and earnest-hearted of this land have always stood in every crisis of its history, and, God helping us, we intend to stand there [applause] and to continue and keep up that fight until the janizaries of corporate greed and monopolistic power are driven from the field and the plain people of the land shall plant the glorious symbol of their triumph upon the Dome of this Capitol, with every star radiant in the light of national victory! [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. BALL] is recognized.

Mr. BALL. For how much time?

Mr. RICHARDSON. How much time remains of this hour?

The CHAIRMAN. Fifteen minutes.

Mr. BALL. Mr. Chairman, the fact that so many members of this House on the Republican side of the Chamber find it necessary, in order to give their support to this bill, to recant the professions, if not of a lifetime, at least for the term of their public

service, neither commends the bill to my support nor prompts me to oppose it. Three years ago every Republican upon the stump declared it was not their purpose either to abandon silver as money of ultimate redemption, to retire the greenbacks from circulation, or permanently fasten the gold standard on our country.

They then proposed to hold on to the gold standard until foreign governments would help them to turn it loose. Upon a declaration in 1896 for international bimetalism they carried the country and won this House by more than 50 majority. Suspicion as to their good faith, although they refrained from passing a measure like this through the Fifty-fifth Congress, caused by the experience of the bimetallic commission and the utterances of the Secretary of the Treasury, reduced the Republican majority in this Congress to 13, notwithstanding a war was in progress when the elections were held, a condition which always redounds to the good of the party in power.

Why the necessity of now pressing this extreme measure? The Senate is safely against the free coinage of silver, and no bill to change existing conditions in the interest of silver can become a law; and if such a bill could be passed, it would not meet the approval of the President unless he should again change his mind upon the money question. The truth is, the Republican party having never declared in favor of either the retirement of the greenbacks or the permanent adoption of the gold standard, that the great agencies organized to plunder the people and which now own and control the policies of the Republican party are not willing to trust you to go back to your people for instructions, but now demand the pound of flesh, and, unlike Shylock, they are willing to take it even though it draws the blood of the people.

It appears to-day that the Republican party, which brought in this bill, has made an ignominious surrender to the money power by reporting a measure which no political party ever declared for, unless you dignify as such the silver from the Democratic party in 1896, which polled 135,000 votes in the United States.

I am not surprised at the change of front within three years by the Republican party upon the money question. Less than a year ago not one of you, from the President down, could or would tell how he stood on the question of the forcible annexation of the Philippine Archipelago without the consent of its people. On the contrary, to-day hardly a dissent exists upon that side of the aisle from a policy which the President declared at the outset "could not be tolerated and as contrary to our code of morals." Nay, more, you are seeking only a convenient pretext to take Cuba, in the face of our pledged faith to that unhappy isle and the nations of the earth.

Mr. Chairman, I take no special pleasure in the embarrassment of so great a number of gentlemen upon the other side, caused by former positions and utterances in antagonism to the one which they now occupy. The fact that the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. CANNON, once found it necessary to embrace the cause of silver in order to secure his election and, as he says, defeat the Greenbackers; that the eloquent gentleman from Iowa, Mr. DOLLIVER, has had his "whirl" at silver and, it is said, was so alarmed at the last Republican national convention that he was afraid a declaration for gold would remove all the able Republican Representatives from Iowa from the public service; that the gentleman from Connecticut, Mr. HILL, found himself at the last session of this Congress, when he denied the agency of one Joe Leiter in advancing the price of wheat, attributing his paper profits to shrewdness in foreseeing the application of the law of supply and demand, forced to come down with a dull and sickening thud with his theories when, before his remarks could be revised for the RECORD, Leiter had failed and wheat gone down in one day 60 cents per bushel; that they and others are now convinced that this bill is "a good thing and they ought to push it along," does not weaken the force of my objections to the measure or abate my fears as to its harmful results to the people of our country.

In fact, Mr. Chairman, the only doubt that has arisen in my mind for twenty years as to the advisability of the free coinage of silver has been because so many gentlemen, high up in the councils of the Republican party, have professed at all times a friendliness for silver.

The differences upon great fundamental questions between Democracy and Republicanism is so marked that when I find myself agreed with any considerable number of Republicans, I am at once in doubt as to whether or not the measure about which we are agreed is in the interest of the masses of the people.

The issues upon the money question are now sharply defined, and the Republican majority in this House have not added to the weight of their former arguments, reinforced by an occasional false note upon this side of the Chamber, the sounder of which vainly imagines that he can promote Democratic success and advance Democratic theories of government by supporting Republican measure.

This bill comes here, as I have said, without the indorsement of any great political party, and has never been incorporated into the

platform of any party save that of the bolters from the Democratic party who met at Indianapolis in 1896, and whose ticket carried only one precinct in these United States. It is not framed at the instance of any considerable number of the unselfish voters of the land, but is demanded by the selfish interest which put up the money to elect the Republican ticket in 1896 and who now demand that the bread cast by them upon the waters shall be returned an hundredfold and in the "shape of cake." This bill is to be passed in the face of the fact that those Republicans who live near the home of the founder of their party, Mr. Lincoln, and west of there, and who yet retain some longings for the Republicanism of Lincoln, do not in their hearts approve of its provisions, and who know that it is a sacrifice of the money which saved the Union and a complete surrender to that class of gold holders who denied their country upon either side the sacrifice of blood or treasure. Unlike General Grant, who in a memorable campaign cut loose from his base of supplies, the Republican party takes no chances, but stands by its campaign contributors.

The Republican party is to go before the country and urge as an excuse for the surrender of the people's last citadel to the money power that the necessity of this bill has been proven by the prosperity now enjoyed by the country. Upon this frail bark they venture to ship their political fortunes and in this castle of cards they would intrench themselves against the assaults of an outraged and plundered public—upon a fictitious prosperity, which is the outgrowth of exploitations of great combinations of capital made possible under the Dingley law; upon the sale of bonds pretendedly made to carry on war after peace was proclaimed; upon an abnormal balance of trade in our favor; and the stimulation of many industries now caused by the necessity of providing for our armies in the field and in forts, but which must be dearly paid for in the end.

Why, sirs, if that be the test, what became of the prosperity and the speculative spirit which laid off every hilltop in historic old Virginia and every prairie in "bleeding Kansas" into future great cities in 1889, 1890, and 1891, and that, too, under the Bland-Allison Act and the Sherman law, which are now denounced as the source of all our financial woes?

It is true, Mr. Chairman, that many articles controlled by trusts have been phenomenally advanced; that pig iron, for instance, which a year ago was worth \$7.15 per ton, has more than doubled in value; but, Mr. Chairman, while the exploiters of these great combinations have thus doubled the price, the wages of labor has advanced not over 10 per cent, an advance barely sufficient to compensate for the increase in the cost of living. It is true, labor is more generally employed, but it is also true that it is only given a livelihood as long as employment lasts, with no opportunity to accumulate. It is also true, I believe, that these great combinations of capital known as trusts, if permitted to run their course, will destroy themselves when their inflated values have been wrecked; but it is also true, Mr. Chairman, that the promoters of these gigantic combinations will arise, phoenix-like from their ashes, with ill-gotten gains, fleeced from the small fry taken in for the purpose of plunder. They will add to their already enormous wealth by extravagant salaries and reorganized properties bought in through the agencies of receivers.

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that the shallowness of the money lenders' argument, which has been taken up by their agents and representatives throughout the country, that the world's increased production of gold has solved the money question and exploded the argument of the friends of silver can be easily refuted. Why, Mr. Chairman, these same gentlemen three years ago were contending that our demand for more money was a senseless clamor; that we had money in plenty, what we needed was confidence; that civilization had passed beyond the use of metal money to any great extent, the business of the country being transacted by the agencies which commercial necessities had provided. Hardly had they recovered from the fright which the splendid campaign of our honored leader, the world's greatest champion of popular rights, Mr. Bryan, had given them, when they were thrown into ecstasies by the discoveries of gold in the Klondike and elsewhere.

Why should they have taken so much joy in new discoveries of gold, and why are we constantly confronted with their arguments now of the wonderful productiveness of African gold fields and the great addition to be made to the world's stock of gold by new processes for mining it, unless they know that their arguments in 1896 that we had money enough were false and our arguments that we needed more primary money true? Do not these same gentlemen know that with all the increase in the world's production of gold and in the midst of the prosperity of which they prate that we were a short time ago upon the verge of a great panic, and that, too, in spite of the fact that millions upon millions of Government money were in the coffers of national banks, which were drawing interest upon Government bonds, interest upon currency issued upon Government bonds, and interest upon Government deposits at the same time? You all know to this gross favoritism was added the payment of unearned interest to the

banks upon their bonds by the Secretary of the Treasury and the buying in of Government bonds at \$1.11 with only four more years to run at an interest of 5 per cent, which is hardly more than half the interest rates paid by the people who will have to pay the bonds.

Mr. Chairman, I propose to prove that the arguments advanced upon the other side of this House that there has been added to the money in circulation in this country more than \$300,000,000 in the past three years is not due to an increased production of gold in the world. The greatest quantity of gold ever produced of which we have any statistics was in the year 1898, being \$287,428,600. On January 1, 1898, the world's stock of gold available for coinage was \$4,594,900,000. On January 1, 1899, the world's stock of gold available for coinage was \$4,631,700,000. Thus we see that while the world produced, in round numbers, \$287,000,000 in 1898 that not quite \$37,000,000 was added to the world's stock of gold money during that year, and, Mr. Chairman, it is true for a long series of years that by far the larger volume of gold produced has not become available for money. It is also true that as men become more and more fabulously rich, as under unjust laws they are now doing, that more and more will it be demonstrated that gold is the rich man's money, and more and more will it be diverted to the purposes of ornament and other uses than that of money.

From whence, then, did our increased volume of money come within the past three years? The answer is easy. From the sale of bonds and the abnormal balance of trade in our favor, caused principally by disasters to agriculture across the waters. In round numbers, for the past three years the balance of trade in our favor has been \$1,400,000,000. Thus, from the proceeds of war bonds, signed with the blood of our gallant soldiers and sailors, and the value of our farm products, enhanced by famine in foreign lands, we have added in three years \$300,000,000 to our circulation, but it has required the sale of \$200,000,000 in bonds and the selling of \$1,400,000,000 more of our products than we bought to obtain it. Reverse these conditions; impound the greenbacks, as this bill proposes; destroy the legal-tender value of all forms of money except gold, as this bill does; make our obligations, public and private, payable in gold, as does this monstrosity, then let a shortage occur in our agricultural products and the industrial interests be tied up by a great protest from organized labor denied its share of prosperity! Let Europe demand our gold, and see then how this mushroom prosperity will vanish!

The presence of this bill here, advocated by a majority of the misrepresentatives of the American people, has convinced me more than ever of the necessity of an American money policy for America. It has convinced me more than ever that the national banking interests, which are behind this bill, are a menace to good government. Those of us who declared in the campaign of 1896 and prior thereto that there was no middle ground between "independent unlimited coinage of gold and silver and the issue of all paper money by the Government" and the "adoption of the single gold standard, the abandonment of silver as money, and the surrender of the exclusive power of issuing paper money to the banking corporations" were hooted at. To-day our prophecies have come to pass, and we are not left as "one crying in the wilderness," as is the gentleman from Iowa, who says that every prophecy he has ever uttered in regard to silver has come to nought, and who was comforted because that distinguished apostle of the gold standard, Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, was in the same boat. We have this advantage, that the advocates of free coinage of silver prophesied at the time that their prophecies would fail.

When the Bland-Allison law was passed it was a compromise made with pretended friendliness to silver, as a substitute for a free-coinage bill presented by that great exponent of the silver cause, whose vision was never obscured by selfish interests, who looked alone to the good of the people, whose memory is revered by all true Americans, Richard P. Bland. The Sherman bullion-purchase law was passed as a makeshift and a substitute for a free-coinage bill without the support of a single real friend of silver or a Democratic vote. The trouble with those measures was that by law we discriminated in favor of gold as against silver and pronounced the one metal as more worthy of trust than the other; that we allowed the silversmiths to fix the value of a money metal instead of fixing by law its value.

Had we then said to the world, "Ninety-five per cent of our business is domestic as against 5 per cent foreign; we will not sacrifice the convenience and interest of 95 per cent to 5 per cent; we have sufficient gold and silver planted in our own soil by the 'Giver of every good and perfect gift' to provide us with an independent and ample supply of primary money to keep pace with our business and population, and we will not sacrifice that advantage that foreign consumers may loan us more money, draw from us greater rates of interest, and buy our products at a far less value"—had we given both metals equality before the law; had we said then, aye should we say now; that if all the gold and silver in the world was coined into money and their use abandoned for every other purpose they would not supply the legitimate demand for money,

but that paper money and evidences of debt would still be resorted to as is recognized by this bill, and that this great Government of ours, growing nearly one-third of all the products grown by man, manufacturing about one-third of all the articles made by man, and possessed of about one-third the banking capital of the world, with a balance of trade of \$600,000,000 in our favor per annum, could and can compel the nations of the earth to pay us in the money we demand, and to take 16 pounds of silver as the equal of 1 pound of gold, or go out of business with those nations now using more than \$3,000,000,000 in silver as full legal-tender money.

Only a day or two ago the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. WM. ALDEN SMITH] exhorted us to stand by gold because we did \$1,500,000,000 in business with gold-standard countries, as against \$400,000,000 with silver-standard countries, and yet the party to which that gentleman belongs is to-day afraid to send a message of sympathy across the seas to the brave Boers who are struggling against the oppression of England as we once did, a party which is about to subvert the Declaration of Independence and is now sacrificing the money of the people and the blood of its manhood in an effort to force a government upon the Filipinos without their consent, for the sole purpose of seeking a market in silver-using countries for British and American gold-standard goods.

Mr. Chairman, I am an optimist, not a pessimist. While I believe that this financial measure, the present tariff policy, subserviency to trusts and the money power, the policy of "criminal aggression" in extending our dominion over distant islands in defiance of organic law and the advice of the fathers of the Republic, will bring great disaster to the American people and render the problems of free government more difficult, yet I do not despair. I have great confidence in the ultimate action of the American people. Although slow to move at times, they will not surrender the form of government which our forefathers, by superb self-sacrifice and inspired wisdom, established. [Applause.]

The lines are now sharply drawn.

In my judgment, "the people will come into their own again" in the only possible way outside of revolution—that is, by and through that political organization whose birthplace was lighted by the fire of liberty, whose author transcribed in the Declaration of Independence the principles for which it stands; the party of Jefferson, of Madison, of Monroe, of Jackson, and of Bryan; the hope of the people, the friend of mankind—the Democratic party. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

[Mr. McCLEARY addressed the committee. See Appendix.]

Mr. BOUTELL of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, in listening to the golden gems of wisdom and the silvery sparkles of eloquence that have irradiated and illumined this discussion, I have been so strongly reminded of the thrilling days and nights of the campaigns of 1896 and 1898, that, in addressing the House after so many days of debate, I feel compelled to narrate one incident that occurred in my own campaign in the latter year. I remember being met just outside the hall on the evening of one of our meetings by an old and feeble constituent of mine, and as I stopped to congratulate him on his ability to be out, he said: "Congressman, I made up my mind that I would hear your speech to-night if it killed me." [Laughter.]

Now, let me hasten to assure my friends who may have any apprehension as to the result of my remarks this afternoon that my old friend not only survived that speech, but he has been getting better ever since [laughter]; and the chances are 16 to 1 that the reason of his improvement is that on that evening he heard good Republican doctrine, for I had just been nominated on a platform declaring for the establishment by law of the single gold standard, and the meeting was held to ratify that platform.

Considering the way in which our friends on the other side of the Chamber were carried off their feet by the precipitancy with which they were plunged into the discussion of this question, the eloquence, brilliancy, acumen, and inaccuracy of their arguments demonstrate anew their ability to meet any emergency.

The inaccuracy of their statements of historical facts was only paralleled by their ignorance of the Scriptures. I want to suggest to my learned friend from Kentucky that in his version of the parable of the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho he does great injustice to the thieves. Let me remind him that it was not the Levite that fell among the thieves. The thieves had too much discretion to tackle such a cold-blooded proposition; and as the gentleman from Kentucky does injustice to the thieves in his version of the parable, he does injustice to his own intelligence and that of his colleagues in his sweeping and comprehensive denunciation of those who support this measure.

Now if I thought that it was at all necessary to say anything in support of the acknowledged reputation of the Republican side of the House for thorough familiarity with the Scriptures, I should begin my remarks with a text from the book of Ecclesiastes:

He that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver; nor he that loveth abundance with increase: this is also vanity.

In the remarks on the adoption of the rule under which this

debate has been held the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. RICHARDSON] said that it would take more time than we could get on our side of the House to apologize for the opinions of those of our party who had paid the debt to time and mortality. But he said nothing of the indefinite extension of time that would be necessary to permit the gentlemen on that side of the House to apologize for the position on the financial question of the distinguished living and the more distinguished dead of the Democratic party. [Laughter on the Republican side.] The only illustrious Democrat for whom an apology has been made by them is Grover Cleveland, and the tone in which this apology was given leaves some doubt in our minds as to whether our Democratic friends were apologizing for themselves for having made Mr. Cleveland President or apologizing for the Almighty for having made Mr. Cleveland. In my opinion the Lord never made a better Democrat than Grover Cleveland, and the Democrats never made a better man President. [Laughter on the Republican side.]

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. DE ARMOND] poured out the vials of his wrath upon the Republican party with a fervor that reminded me of one of the old Hebrew prophets hurling his denunciations from the summit of Ebal or Gerizim upon the chosen people. As he spoke in lonely grandeur from the midst of a disintegrating party his words had a solemn pathos like the voice of one crying in the wilderness.

Now, let the prophet from Missouri derive what comfort he can from the delusion that his denunciations are just, but let him not forget to temper the warmth of his enthusiasm with the reflection that we on this side of the House are still the chosen people—chosen by our fellow-citizens to protect the honor and credit of the nation.

Since the triumph of the Republican party in 1896 this country has enjoyed, under the wise and statesmanlike Administration of President McKinley, a period of widespread commercial activity and extraordinary prosperity. Our Democratic friends are unwilling to attribute any of our national blessings to the triumph of Republican principles, and explain them as the direct gift of Divine Providence. Perhaps we ought only to claim that the Almighty has made use of the Republican party in working out his scheme of beneficence. But who ever heard of the Almighty making any use of the Democratic party for beneficent purposes?

This bill, so far as it relates to the currency, simply places upon the statute books the will of the people registered at the polls in 1896. The gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber who have the courage to vote for this bill need not fear that they are departing from the principles of their party, for in supporting this measure they are simply returning to the principles of Jefferson and Jackson. And in their independence they are following the example of the founder of their party. It was Jefferson who said:

I never submitted the whole system of my opinions to the creed of any party whatever in religion, philosophy, politics, or any other matter where I was capable of thinking for myself. Such an addiction would be the last degradation of a free and moral agent. If I could not go to heaven but with a party, I would not go there at all.

We may be sure that if Jefferson was unwilling to make his chance of reaching heaven depend upon his allegiance to the Democratic party, he would not, if alive to-day, risk plunging his country into the opposite abyss by advocating the modern, Bryanese doctrines of that party. But with characteristic disregard of the truth, Bryan and his followers lose no opportunity of asserting that in their advocacy of the principles of the Chicago platform they are following faithfully in all the footsteps of Jefferson and Jackson. To one, however, who is at all familiar with the political views of Jefferson and Jackson it is clear that there is not an important principle contained in the Chicago platform or advocated by Mr. Bryan to which these distinguished Democrats were not opposed.

When Mr. Bryan told us in one of his oracular utterances that the Democratic party did not care about ancestry and had no use for pedigrees I was reminded of one of Jefferson's letters to a friend who was about starting for England. The letter closes with this request:

One further favor and I am done—to search the Heralds' Office for the arms of my family. I have what I have been told were the family arms, but on what authority I know not. It is possible there may be none. If so, I would, with your assistance, become a purchaser, having Sterne's word for it that a coat of arms may be purchased as cheap as any other coat.

Will some gentleman on the other side, who with Mr. Bryan is following in all the footsteps of the immortal Jefferson, tell us Mr. Bryan's views of this method of proclaiming one's democracy? Will Mr. Bryan, following the example of the illustrious founder of his party, go to London and buy a coat of arms for the purpose of making more apparent the gulf that separates him from the great mass of his countrymen whom he daily insults by calling them the "common people?" Thanks to the Republican party there are now in this country no common people of any race, color, or religion!

This Jeffersonian method of securing a coat of arms has its advantages, because one can select a motto and devices in keeping with one's personal characteristics. Considering the obstinate

pertinacity with which Mr. Bryan has reiterated the untruths of history and finance, the Earl Marshal might for an adequate honorarium issue to the irrepressible vocalist of the Platte these arms and motto:

HE BEARETH ARGENT, ON A FIELD SABLE, A DEMI-DONKEY RAMPANT; FROM ITS MOUTH ISSUANT IN FLAMES, 16 TO 1, GULES, AND UNDERNEATH THE WORDS VERBA NON VERA.

The author of the Declaration of Independence had strange views on the benefits to be derived from a connection with Great Britain. As late as the fall of 1775 he wrote to a friend:

I am sincerely one of those who would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any other nation on earth, or than on no nation.

And a few days later he wrote:

Believe me, dear sir, there is not in the British Empire a man who more cordially loves a union with Great Britain than I do.

And even after the battle of Bunker Hill, in another letter, he expressed his wish that the conflict might be settled without going any further, and after the surrender of Cornwallis he put himself on record as in favor of an offensive and defensive alliance with Great Britain. How many of you, gentlemen, are following in Jefferson's footsteps in this matter? Do you favor an alliance with Great Britain to-day?

But Mr. Bryan has often said, "Like Thomas Jefferson, we trust the common people." In what way did Thomas Jefferson trust the common people? In his commentaries on the Constitution, written from Paris, he said:

I like the power given the legislature to levy taxes, and for that reason solely approve of the greater House being chosen by the people directly. For I think a House chosen by them will be very illy qualified to legislate for the Union and for foreign nations.

In his draft of the constitution of his own State of Virginia he makes, as the foundation of suffrage, property holding or service in the State militia. How many of you, gentlemen, are following in Jefferson's footsteps in this limitation of the right of suffrage?

But we also hear a great deal from the Chicago platform and from Mr. Bryan in reference to the life tenure of the judiciary. Jefferson expressed himself firmly and decidedly on this point, as he did on every other point of public interest in his day. He said:

The dignity and stability of government in all its branches, the morals of the people, and every blessing of society depend so much upon an upright and skillful administration of justice that the judicial power ought to be distinct from both the legislature and executive and independent of both, so that it may be a check upon both, as both should be checks upon that. The judges, therefore, should always be men of learning and experience in the laws, of exemplary morals, great patience, calmness, and attention; their minds should not be distracted with jarring interests; they should not be dependent upon any man or body of men. To these ends they should hold estates for life in their offices, or, in other words, their commissions should be during good behavior.

How many of you, in supporting the Chicago platform, are following in Jefferson's footsteps in this matter? In his draft of a constitution for Virginia he provides that the higher judges shall be elected for life by the assembly and that all the lower judges, even down to justices of the peace, shall be appointed by the executive for life.

We have also heard from the leader of the Democratic party a great deal of denunciation of the use of the ancient writ of injunction by our courts, and a clause in the Chicago platform is aimed against it. But let us look for a moment at what Jefferson conceived the province of the judiciary under our Federal and State constitutions. He said, in a letter to Madison from Paris:

I like the negative given to the Executive with a third of either House, though I should have liked it better had the judiciary been associated for that purpose or invested with a similar or separate power.

Gentlemen, when you inveigh against the use of the writ of injunction by our courts, how close do you keep to the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson, who went so much further, and believed not only, as you say, in government by injunction, but government by judicial veto?

Again, let us see what the great statesman and founder of the Democratic party had to say about the matter of imposts and direct taxation. In another letter, in commenting upon the Constitution, he says:

There is a great mass of good in it in a very desirable form, but there is also to me a bitter pill or two. Would it not have been better to have assigned to Congress exclusively the article of imposts for Federal purposes and to have left direct taxation exclusively to the States.

Now, if this was such a bitter pill to Thomas Jefferson, what sort of a bolus would he have thought was being forced down his throat in your income-tax law that has been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court?

No, my Democratic friends, you do not believe to-day in any of Jefferson's political views. Many of his ideas were crude, childish, and preposterous and quite in harmony with some of the absurd principles of Bryan and his followers. But his views on maintaining the high character and independence of the judiciary and on coinage and finance commend themselves to all thinking, patriotic men to-day; and if you followed them, as you claim to do, you would vote for this bill. Judged by the ancient creed of the

Democratic party you Bryan Democrats have left undone those things which you ought to have done, and you have done those things which you ought not to have done.

Jefferson, at the time of the establishment of our National Government, made a careful and exhaustive study of the questions relating to coinage and currency. In his elaborate notes on coinage he says:

The proportion between the values of gold and silver is a mercantile problem altogether. * * * Just principles will lead us to disregard legal proportions altogether; to inquire into the market price of gold in the several countries with which we shall be principally connected in commerce, and to take an average from them.

And again he says:

Perhaps, we might with safety lean to a proportion somewhat above par for gold, considering our neighborhood and commerce with the sources of the coins, and the tendency which the high price of gold in Spain has, to draw thither all that of their mines, leaving silver principally for our and other markets.

In a note to his outline of the coinage system are these words:

I would still incline to give a little more than the market price for gold because of its superior convenience in transportation.

In his famous letter to Hamilton in reference to this matter he said:

With respect to the dollar, it must be admitted by all the world that there is great uncertainty in the meaning of the term, and therefore all the world will have justified Congress for their first act for removing the uncertainty by declaring what they understand by the term, but the uncertainty once removed exists no longer and I very much doubt a right now to change the value and especially to lessen it. It would lead to so easy a mode of paying off their debts. Besides, the party injured by this reduction of the value would have so much to urge in support of the first point of fixation. Should it be thought, however, that Congress may reduce the value of the dollar, I should be for adopting for our unit, instead of the dollar, either 1 ounce of pure silver or 1 ounce of standard silver.

The average ratio of the coinage of gold and silver in the commercial nations of Europe at the time of the establishment of our Mint was 14½ to 1. In accordance with Jefferson's views, in our first coinage we slightly undervalued silver, and the metals were coined at the ratio of 15 to 1. This was done for the purpose of bringing gold to this country and keeping it here. But in the course of a few years the bullion value of the metals had changed to about 15½ to 1. And now we come to Jackson's attitude on the money question. In the early thirties gold was discovered in the southern Alleghanies. Through Jackson's influence the ratio of our coinage was changed in 1834 to 16 to 1, and in 1835 branch mints were established in Charlotte, N. C., and Dahlonega, Ga., restricted by law to "the coinage of gold only."

This undervaluation of silver and the establishment of these mints for the coinage of gold only would be called by Bryan, I suppose, owing to his reverence for the memory of Jackson, the misdemeanor of 1834.

The sound views of Jefferson and Jackson on the money question and the wise legislation with reference to coinage recommended by them were based upon a clear conception of the truth of these two principles: First, that the adaptability of metals for use as money lies in the mercantile value of the metals and that coinage neither adds to nor detracts from that value; second, that two or more metals can only circulate freely as money at the same time when they are coined according to their mercantile ratio of exchange.

The experience of mankind, however, has shown that the ratio of exchange of two substances does not remain the same for any length of time and that when two metals are used concurrently as money the metal that is undervalued in the ratio of coinage will disappear from circulation. If a gold dollar has, as a coin, only the purchasing power of a silver dollar when as a piece of metal it has the power to purchase enough silver to make two dollars, it will not long remain a coin.

If, for example, we should enter upon the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1 while the mercantile ratio of exchange is 35 to 1, all the gold in the country would at once disappear, the purchasing power of the silver dollar would be reduced one-half, all prices would consequently be doubled, while all creditors, annuitants, savings-bank depositors, pensioners, beneficiaries of life-insurance companies, and building associations would find that the money received by them had lost one-half of its purchasing power.

The people of this country in the elections of 1896 and 1898 declared their unbelief in this silver heresy, and this bill simply embodies into law the will of the people.

The most serious feature of this money question is that there is such a great diversity of opinion in regard to the fundamental truths in relation to money. Bryan and his school of political philosophers arrive at certain conclusions by a process of reasoning based upon a system of theorizing which ignores the facts of history. But the money question is preeminently a practical question and should be considered from the standpoint of human experience. Ignoring theories and basing our conclusions on the facts of history, I take these to be the fundamental truths in relation to money:

First. Money is that commodity for which by universal consent the people agree to exchange all other commodities.

Second. The people, not the Government, select the commodity which they wish to use as money.

Third. The functions of Government in relation to money, like the functions of Government in relation to food, begin when the people have selected the commodities which they wish to use as money or food.

Fourth. Government can not give to any commodity a value that has not been given to it by the laws of nature and exchange any more than it can give to food nutritive properties that have not been given to it by the laws of nature.

Fifth. When the people have selected metals for money, the coinage of metals is an attribute but not an obligation of sovereignty.

Sixth. Government can not by coinage or legislation add to any metal a value that has not been given to it by the laws of nature and exchange.

Seventh. Exchanges of commodities for money are always expressly or by implication for a given weight of a given metal.

Eighth. The Government can not compel me to part with the work of my hands or the production of my brain.

Ninth. When I have parted with the work of my hands or the production of my brain and have been promised therefor a given weight of a given metal, and he who has made the promise seeks to pay me in a less weight of the stipulated metal, he is guilty of a crime, and the Government will punish him accordingly.

Tenth. When the Government steps in and compels me to receive a less weight of the stipulated metal, or a different metal, it is guilty of a fraud which requires its sovereignty to carry out.

These, according to my understanding, are the ten fundamental verities in relation to money, and they are as unassailable as the Ten Commandments.

I understand that the Democratic party is endeavoring to accomplish that which, if done by an individual, would be a private crime; if done by the Government, a national fraud.

The fundamental truths in relation to currency are equally simple:

First. All metal tokens, such as the silver, nickel, and copper coins of the United States, and all receipts for money issued or authorized to be issued by the Government for use as money, are currency.

Second. Currency is simply a substitute for money used for convenience in making exchanges.

Third. When a community has different kinds of money and different kinds of currency, it is the duty of the Government to so regulate the character and issue of currency as to make all forms of currency redeemable in the best kind of money.

Fourth. The United States has the good fortune to have but one money—gold—and the misfortune to have nine different kinds of currency.

Fifth. It is the duty of our Government at once to simplify and reform our currency and register in the law of the land the will of the people that all our currency shall be redeemable in the money selected by the people.

In view of these fundamental truths concerning money and currency, I hope to see the time when there will be a uniform system of money in operation throughout the civilized world. This money system should be based upon the unrestricted free coinage of such metals as the people may choose, coined by weight according to the metric system. Such a system can be adopted at any time by any nation without waiting for the cooperation of other countries, for existing contracts and foreign exchanges could be adjusted to such a system more readily than our forefathers adjusted their outstanding contracts under our present system when it was adopted a century ago.

Under this system we would have a universal coinage, the coins of our country being substantially the same as the coins of every other country. Each coin would express on one side its national character and on the other side its universal character. On the obverse of the coin would appear the arms, insignia, and legend of the nation that issued it, and on the reverse would appear the simple story of its weight, told in the universal language of the metric system.

Under such a system there would be no silver question, and Bryan's occupation would be gone. All the jargon about 16 to 1, keeping up the ratio, and maintaining the parity would disappear. All the superstition and embarrassment that have surrounded the use of arbitrary and symbolic names, such as guinea, dollar, etc., for describing the given weight of a certain metal, and all uncertainty as to the meaning of these symbolic names would also disappear and our money system would be founded, as it should be, upon eternal truth and mathematical accuracy. With such a money system our currency system would take care of itself.

Until we are ready to reform our system of money and currency along some such lines it is the duty of our National Government, by pledging its credit and by all other honorable means, to give to all forms of money and currency the same ratio of exchange and purchasing power. This bill tends to accomplish this end. It is a step in the right direction. It conforms to the views of

Jefferson, Hamilton, Morris, Jackson, and all our practical statesmen, economists, and financiers. The strongest argument in its favor is that it is utterly opposed to the theories of Bryan and his school of repudiationists.

I trust that there are many gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber who will support this measure. Let me strengthen their resolutions with the noble words of the great founder of their party:

The honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reform; the wisdom of our sages and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment; they should be the creed of our political faith, the text of our civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust, and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

Will you follow the bright constellation that guided the steps of the immortal Jefferson or will you stagger after the ignis fatuus that rose from the marshes of the Platte and for over three years has been deluding the credulous portion of the American people?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kentucky is recognized for ten minutes.

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Chairman, I am in the habit of practicing law for a living at home. In our Kentucky practice we plead to an issue. I have sat here for two or three days trying to ascertain the legal effect and what would be the consequences of the enactment of this proposed bill into law. I have heard a great number of learned discussions in opposition to the Chicago platform, and I have listened carefully to the arguments upon the other side, without having ascertained any definite light as to what would be the effect of the enactment of this bill, so I sent up yesterday to the Comptroller of the Currency and asked him this question:

If all national banks now doing business with a paid-up capital stock of \$150,000 or less should be permitted to issue currency to an amount equal to 25 per cent of the capital stock paid in, and all such banks having a paid-up capital stock of over \$150,000 should limit their issues of currency to \$50,000 to each bank, would the amount of national-bank currency be increased over or decreased under the amount as at present; and if so, how much?

To that question the Comptroller of the Currency sent me this answer yesterday (and that is precisely what this bill proposes to do):

In reply to your inquiry of the 12th instant, you are respectfully advised that if the national banks with a capital stock of \$150,000 or less were permitted to issue a circulation to the amount of 25 per cent of their capital, and those with a capital stock exceeding \$150,000 were permitted to issue circulation to the amount of \$50,000 each, the total issuable circulation would be \$97,388,809. The outstanding circulation of the national banks on September 7, 1899, was \$200,345,567. Under the plan suggested the circulation of the banks would be reduced to the extent of \$102,956,758.

It has been repeatedly announced upon the other side that one of the purposes of this bill is to enlarge the circulation of the national banks. This is ostensibly one of the purposes, because this bill provides that the currency may be increased to par instead of only 90 per cent, as now. But that ostensible purpose is more than counterbalanced by the fact that by this bill the circulation is confined to the par value of the bonds, and the decreased amount of the bonds by the terms of this bill will necessarily curtail the circulation of the national-bank currency \$102,000,000.

I propounded yesterday to the Comptroller of the Currency this further question:

Suppose that all national banks having a paid-up capital stock of \$150,000 or less should limit their currency to a sum equal to one-fourth of the amount of the capital stock paid in, and that all banks having a paid-up capital stock of more than \$150,000 should limit the currency to \$50,000 to each bank; and suppose all the present laws relating to the taxation of national banks should be repealed excepting the act of July 13, 1898, entitled "An act to provide ways and means to meet war expenditures, and for other purposes," and that in lieu of all the statutes so repealed there should be substituted a tax of one-tenth of 1 per cent per annum upon the value of the franchises of all these banks as measured by the aggregate amount of their capital surplus and undivided profits, would the total amount of taxes to be collected by the Government from these institutions be increased over or decreased under the amount now collected; and if so, to what amount?

And that, too, is another provision of this bill.

To that question the Comptroller sends me this answer:

For the year ended July 1, 1898, the national banks paid an internal-revenue tax on their capital and surplus of \$1,752,802. During the year ended June 30, 1899, the tax collected on national-bank circulation by the Treasurer of the United States was \$1,991,753, making the total taxes paid to the Government on capital, surplus, and circulation \$3,744,555. With the repeal of the tax on circulation, continuing the tax imposed by the war-revenue act of 1898, and placing an additional tax of one-tenth of 1 per cent on the capital, surplus, and undivided profits of the national banks, the Government would derive from this combined tax on the franchise of the banks \$2,700,090, a reduction of \$1,035,455 from the amount paid under existing laws, as shown by the latest returns.

So that, Mr. Chairman, this bill proposes necessarily to reduce the circulation of the national banks more than \$100,000,000 and proposes to decrease the amount of taxes collectible from these institutions more than a million dollars per annum, and yet what I would like to hear would be an address from the other side contradicting these figures. I want somebody to say to this committee whether the enactment of the bill into a law will bring these results. We contend that the issue of the Chicago platform is not before this committee. For my part, whenever that question comes up, I shall have no hesitancy in standing up and advocating every principle in it.

There is no issue before the committee as to the single gold standard or the wisdom of the Chicago platform. And yet day after day we have had addresses devoted exhaustively to those questions. The question before the committee is, Shall the Federal statutes remain as they are—shall the law continue in force as it is—or shall we introduce this new statute, this new proposition, that has never been advocated upon this floor by any statesman from the foundation of the Government? No man that ever occupied the White House, from Washington to William McKinley, ever advocated such a measure as this. I undertake to say that the gentlemen on the other side are shouting into the wrong tree. We are not here upon this side now to advocate 16 to 1. They say that we are upon the single gold standard. They say that every dollar is equal to a gold dollar, and these propositions are not denied. The truth is that this Government never saw a dollar that was worth less than 100 cents to a dollar unless its legal-tender function was curtailed. The Spanish milled dollars, the Mexican dollars, the paper dollars, the silver dollars—all kinds of dollars—have been worth 100 cents in all our national history for more than one hundred years unless they have been deprived of their legal-tender function.

This bill finds no excuse and can not be justified, whether you favor the free coinage of silver or stand for the gold standard.

If you favor the single gold standard, you say that you are already on that standard, and have been since 1873, and that all the obligations of the Government are being paid in that metal when demanded. Then how will the passage of this bill change either the law or the practice? No; this bill does continue the gold standard, but it is not introduced here for that reason.

It does more than that; it reduces the circulation of the banks in their interest more than \$100,000,000, as I have shown from the figures furnished by the Comptroller of the Currency. It reduces the amount of annual taxes more than a million dollars to be paid by these banks. It jeopardizes the security of depositors by reducing to \$50,000 the maximum amount of bonds required to be deposited by any of these institutions. It is unfair to the smaller national banks, by requiring them to keep on deposit a larger proportionate amount of bonds than is required of the larger and stronger banks.

If you argue that you want the bill because you want the single gold standard, then you have already answered that argument by stating that we are already on the gold standard and that all of the obligations of the Government are being paid in gold. If you argue that you want the bill because you want an elastic currency, the answer is that private corporations, organized for private gain, should not be intrusted with this enormous power any more than the railroad corporations should be given the power of making elastic freight rates. Private greed would tempt both classes of these corporations to contract when the masses of our people would want them to expand and to expand always at the wrong time for them. But an elastic currency is the very thing this bill is careful to prevent. In section 8 elasticity is carefully guarded against in this language:

Provided, That the amounts of such circulating notes issued to any national banking association having on deposit United States bonds to secure circulation at the passage of this act, or which may hereafter deposit such bonds to secure circulation, shall not exceed in any case the par value of the bonds deposited as herein provided.

Now, it is "herein provided" that the bonds to be kept on deposit even by the largest and strongest bank need not exceed \$50,000; and it is "herein provided" that the currency issued shall not exceed the par value of the bonds. We see by the Comptroller's figures that although currency may be issued up to the par value of the bonds to be deposited by the terms of this bill, still the amount of currency will be reduced more than a million dollars below the amount now in circulation, caused by the still smaller amount of bonds required to be kept on deposit in the Treasury. In other words, currency now required to be issued up to 90 per cent of the par value of the bonds is more than \$100,000,000 in excess of the currency allowed by this bill, although to be issued up to the par value of the bonds.

It is well known that these national banks will issue no more currency than the law requires them to. Their profits are made from the deposits and not from the currency issued. So that the national bank with a paid-up capital of \$1,000,000 is not required—indeed, it is not permitted—by this bill to issue currency in excess of the amount of \$50,000, while the smaller banks are required to issue currency to the amount of 25 per cent of the capital paid in. The bank, therefore, with \$150,000 is required to issue notes to the amount of \$37,500 and the million-dollar bank to issue money only to the amount of \$50,000.

It is, therefore, a truckling to the larger banks and an unwise and unjust discrimination in their favor.

But, again, this bill seeks to exonerate the larger banks from the payment of their just share of taxes. These taxes are now imposed upon the circulation and in proportion to the circulation.

The larger banks under this bill will pay a smaller amount of taxes proportionately than the smaller ones.

For my part, if I believed in the single gold standard and was

willing to make silver merely a token money, redeemable in gold, still I would oppose this bill, because we have about \$500,000,000 of outstanding silver dollars, and it is a foolish piece of extravagance to keep these silver dollars at all, to be used as token money. If we must have the single gold standard, then sell these silver dollars at 50 cents to the dollar and let the Government realize \$250,000,000 for them, to be turned into the Treasury. No man can give any good reason why the Government could not and should not use paper money in lieu of these silver dollars, if the silver dollars are to be used only as promises to pay in gold. This new paper money would be as good token money, redeemable in gold, as you propose to make the silver. This new paper money would have behind it the same pledge, just as you say silver has, and why hoard this silver as a mere sentiment? So, I say, the logical conclusion from your major premise is to sell the silver dollars as bullion and substitute paper money. Take out of circulation everything but gold and the paper redeemable in gold, and the Government would make \$250,000,000 by this transaction, and have precisely the same amount and character of money you are proposing to establish.

You Republicans should not claim any credit for the present prosperous condition of the country. The large productions of gold in the Klondike and in South Africa have, it is true, appeased in some measure the demand for more basic money. The war with Spain and in the Philippines, together with that in Africa, have increased the demand for mules, cotton, manufactured articles, and farm produce, and we are having comparatively prosperous times. But these are not of your doing, and unless past experience fails these mines will soon be exhausted. The present good condition proves our contention. We have argued all along for more basic money and for higher prices. We said that with more money would come higher prices, and with higher prices would come better times. Both of these propositions you denied. Now our predictions have been fulfilled, and yet you claim the credit. The truth is that all of the legislation enacted upon the subject of silver was Republican legislation and passed by your party, so that if you are to have credit by the present prosperity of the country, you are to be charged up with the panics of 1873 and of 1893 and the distressing conditions of those periods.

There is a peculiar thing about our bondholders and our money standards. The bondholders had no objection to a fiat money standard at the outset when they were buying the bonds cheap on that account. It was only after the bonds had been sold by the Government that these gentlemen clamored to be paid in coin "in order to strengthen the credit of the Government." Then these bondholders had no objection to the double standard when Mr. Cleveland had bonds for sale. They took coin bonds without objection, and only remarked they would give \$16,000,000 more for them if "gold" instead of "coin" was put in them. But the double standard was all right for buying purposes.

Now this bill comes and writes "gold" in these same coin bonds, donates that \$16,000,000 to these bondholders, and it is a great outrage to talk about double standards and fiat money now. The Government is on one standard when bonds are to be sold, and always on another standard when bonds are to be paid. Yes, gentlemen, and let me remind you that the same people who were for fiat money and then for the double standard in buying bonds from the Government are the same people who fostered and organized that Indianapolis convention. They are the same people and influences that are thrusting this bill forward and crying "repudiator" at every man who opposes the single gold standard.

But again, this bill greatly increases the amount of gold to be kept locked up in the Treasury in addition to the \$100,000,000 of gold reserve now kept. It requires an additional \$50,000,000 to be kept on deposit in the fiscal department. Then comes this new feature:

There shall be transferred from the general fund in the Treasury of the United States and taken up on the books of said division, as a redemption fund, the amount of gold coin and bullion held against outstanding gold certificates, the amount of United States notes held against outstanding currency certificates, the amount of silver dollars held against outstanding silver certificates, the amount of silver dollars and silver bullion held against outstanding Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890, and an amount of gold coin and bullion to constitute a reserve fund equal to 25 per cent of the amount both of United States notes and Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890, outstanding.

Thus we see that by contracting the national-bank circulation and by this new redemption department substantially all the money of the country may be impounded in the Treasury by this bill except gold and the subsidiary silver coins. The silver dollars may again be paid out, it is true, but only as token money redeemable in gold, and this silver will take the place of paper which is to be permanently retired, and as such token money will operate as the same endless chain to drive out the gold that is admittedly the worst feature of the present system.

No, gentlemen, this bill does provide for the perpetuation of the single gold standard, but it does more. It is a bankers' bill which conflicts with the declarations of both the great political parties.

It originated at a popular watering place on the Atlantic, without consulting the common people, and they do not want it.

All of the talk which I have heard for years on this floor and elsewhere about the commercial value of gold and silver, independent of the prices fixed by the demands for purpose of coinage, is to my mind little short of nonsense. The law of supply and demand applies to silver as well as to anything else; and when you destroy the chief demand for silver and expect the price to remain unchanged, you are talking very unwisely. There can be no commercial or commodity value ascertained for either metal until all the countries of the world cease using both of them for coinage into money or until all the world begins the coinage of both of them at the same ratio. All of the troubles we have had in our past history in keeping the two metals together was not caused by differences in the prices of the metals as commodities, but because of the different prices offered by different countries at the same time for these metals for coinage purposes.

At one time France paid a larger price for our silver than we were paying, and the silver went there and left us nothing but gold. At another time France paid a larger price for our gold than we were paying, and the gold went there and left us nothing but silver. So with other countries. The metal that left us always went to be coined into money and not as an article of commerce. The demand for the metals for the purpose of being coined into money has (coupled with the supply) in all the ages and countries of the world regulated their value. By money I mean money and not mere tokens or promises to pay money. You certainly have not forgotten the trade dollar, which had more silver in it than the standard silver dollar and yet, not being a legal tender, was worth only its bullion value.

You certainly can go up to the other end of the Avenue and find a Mexican dollar with more silver in it than there is in one of our standard silver dollars and find it passing for much less.

No; it is not because of the pledge of the Government behind the silver dollar to keep it up. No such pledge was ever made until 1890, by the Sherman law, and silver had remained at par for seventeen years after the gold standard was established in 1873. No; it was not because of the small number of silver dollars in circulation prior to the Sherman law. France keeps to-day \$800,000,000 of silver on a par with gold simply by paying all of her obligations in either metal at the option of the Government and by making both of them full legal tender.

This country, with twice the population and business, could keep half that amount of silver at par too, and in the same way.

But the national banks do not want us to do it, and hence this bill is introduced. Thus step by step the work has been done.

First. The sale of the bonds at low prices and payable in any lawful money.

Second. A change in the contract making the interest payable in coin.

Third. The destruction of the silver dollar, and leaving no coin but gold.

Fourth. The sale of other bonds as coin bonds and for \$16,000,000 less than could be had for gold bonds. Now we are asked to not only write gold instead of coin in all the bonds, but we are asked to allow the national banks to contract the currency more than a hundred millions and to relieve them from the payment of more than a million dollars annually in taxes. Every one of these steps was an outrage upon the people. Have not these national banks been favored enough? They are already enjoying privileges not enjoyed by State banks, and this bill still further extends and enlarges these privileges so that the State banks will hardly be able to compete with them for business. From whatever standpoint this bill is looked at it is wholly useless and wholly pernicious.

The natural tendency of the nations anyhow is to concentrate wealth and power into the hands of the few and to leave the millions poor and dependent. Legislation ought to be directed so as to counteract this natural tendency as far as practicable. Instead of doing that you have, by protective-tariff duties and special legislation, fostered many a trust and made many a millionaire at the expense of the people. This bill will make the national banks the greatest trust of them all. You are shutting your eyes to all the warnings of history. The banks of Europe control the movements of the armies and navies of the Old World. And if this bill fulfills the promises made by its promoters, if it brings an elastic currency and gives these banks full power to contract and expand the currency as they choose, if this bill gives the Secretary of the Treasury full power to issue gold bonds whenever and in such amounts as he pleases, then indeed we will have come to the very gates of a monarchy. So let the martial music strike up and the bugle call to glory and to empire be sounded.

With the empire shall be needed this favored money class and a gilded aristocracy. But with the empire will come also a larger standing army, larger tax rates, and the people must furnish the soldiers and pay the taxes. I stand here to enter my protest against this bill and warn you that its enactment will serve to

hasten that evil day that sooner or later has always come to every country in every age; that evil day when the masses of the people have become paupers and slaves, crouching at the feet of a throne. It is the same old story, written upon the tombs and attested by the moldering monuments of antiquity. All of the freedom that mankind has ever known has been surrendered and lost by yielding to the same temptation. The glitter of the empire soon disappears when the citizen has lost his liberty. The owl soon comes to hoot in the banquet hall when the king and his guests have departed, and the lizard comes and crawls over the broken columns and crumbled art that for a time ornamented the royal pageant. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. SMITH of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, in the time allotted me for the discussion of this matter I shall first endeavor to give a clear and concise explanation of the most important provisions in the measure.

ANALYSIS OF THE BILL.

By section 1 the gold dollar, consisting of 25.8 grains standard gold, is made the unit of value. By sections 2 and 4 all interest-bearing obligations of the Government, the United States notes, the Sherman Treasury notes, all obligations, public and private, for the payment of money, and at the option of the Secretary of the Treasury any other kind of money, are made payable and redeemable in gold. In brief, by the terms of this bill gold is made the only money of final redemption and the sole measurement of values.

The motive that induced its authors to provide, in the fourth section, "and all silver certificates presented for redemption shall be redeemed in accordance with existing laws," is known to themselves only. It would be a reflection upon their intelligence to assume that they were unfamiliar with the facts that the Secretary of the Treasury had time and again said that it was his duty under the law to redeem every silver dollar with gold if demanded by the holder, and yet, giving these gentlemen the benefit of the presumption that they were aware of this, it makes the conclusion irresistible that this language is placed in the bill to mislead and deceive the people.

Section 2 contains this language:

All obligations, public and private, for the payment of money shall be performed in conformity with the standard established in said section.

That is, in section 1.

By this provision an obligation for the payment of a hundred dollars can only be discharged by the payment of that number of dollars, each of which contains the required quantity of gold. And yet by a subsequent provision in the same section it is said:

Nothing herein contained shall be construed or held to affect the present legal-tender quality of the silver dollar or of the subsidiary or minor coins or of the paper currency of the United States, or the laws making national-bank notes receivable and payable for certain public debts and dues and obligations between national banks.

By this clause it is made sufficient for an obligor to tender silver dollars or United States notes in the payment of such debts. There is a conflict between these provisions which must inevitably produce great confusion and many hardships to both creditors and debtors.

The bill establishes in the Treasury Department a division of issues and redemption, which is charged with the issues, redemptions, and exchange of the various kinds of United States money permitted or authorized by law. It is made mandatory upon the Treasurer to transfer from the general fund in his Department, first, all gold coin and gold bullion held against gold certificates; second, all United States notes held against currency certificates; third, all silver dollars held against silver certificates; and, fourth, all silver dollars and silver bullion held against Sherman Treasury notes; and these sums, aggregating on the 9th day of December, 1899, \$683,454,903, constitute the redemption fund. In addition to this, and to be used for redemption purposes, the Treasurer is required to also transfer to this division gold coin and gold bullion equal in amount to 25 per cent of the United States and Sherman notes, which is to constitute the reserve fund, and will amount at present to \$108,865,824.

The redemption fund proper and reserve fund will aggregate, as matters now stand, \$792,320,727, not a dollar of which can get into circulation where it can do active service in the commerce of the country except by the withdrawal of a like sum theretofore so engaged.

It is officially stated that the gold coin and bullion in the United States on the 1st day of July, 1899, amounted to \$963,493,384. By the terms of the pending bill \$289,328,943 of that sum will be imprisoned in the vaults of the Treasury as redemption and reserve funds, leaving \$674,169,441 in gold to be used in the payment of Government expenses and in the commerce of the country.

The silver dollars and bullion will be held in the redemption fund; or if not, their paper representative, in silver certificates or Treasury notes, will be impounded in their stead. Under the

power vested in him by section 3, to maintain the parity and value of money by the use of gold for the redemption of any other kind of money, the Secretary of the Treasury will, no doubt, retire from circulation every dollar of silver and Government issues of paper money. Taking the latest published reports, there will be, at its organization, placed in this division about five hundred millions of silver dollars and bullion, which includes practically all our silver money exclusive of subsidiary coin. There will likewise be placed in it about \$290,000,000 in gold coin and bullion with which to begin the retirement of greenbacks, silver certificates, Sherman notes, and currency certificates.

The Secretary is authorized from time to time to transfer to this division from the general fund any money not otherwise appropriated, or he may exchange funds in this for those in the general division, or he may sell gold bonds of the Government to maintain the reserve fund; but he is forbidden to make a transfer from the general fund which would reduce it below \$50,000,000. With this restriction, it may be safely said, in view of our increasing expenditures, that there will seldom be transfers and exchanges will be unheard of; but the issue of gold bonds will be the rule, and the climax of stupidity and folly will have been reached when a great Government like ours shall be found issuing gold bonds for the purpose of reducing the volume of money in circulation.

The bill authorizes the organization of national banks as follows, namely: In cities of the population of 2,000 or less, with a capital of \$25,000, by permission of the Secretary of the Treasury; in cities of 6,000 population or less, \$50,000 capital; in cities of 50,000 or less, \$100,000 capital, and in cities of more than 50,000 population, with a capital not less than \$200,000. To secure their circulating notes such banks are required, where the capital does not exceed \$150,000, to deposit with the Treasurer of the United States interest-bearing, registered United States bonds to an amount not less than one-fourth the capital, and \$50,000 where the capital exceeds \$150,000.

Upon the delivery of these bonds such banks are entitled to receive from the Treasurer circulating notes in blank, registered and countersigned as required by law, to the par value of the bonds; but in no event shall such notes be issued to such an association in an amount in excess of the capital stock actually paid in. The limitations placed upon the circulating notes is that they can not exceed the capital stock paid in, and the condition precedent is that the character of bonds must have been deposited for them. It must be entirely plain to every man, even those of puny comprehension, that it is the deliberate purpose of the dominant party in this House to fasten as permanently as can be done by statutory enactment upon the people of the United States the single gold standard, to retire all forms of Government money other than gold, and delegate to the national banks the power to issue and control the volume of paper money hereafter to circulate among our people. To each and every one of these three unsound, unwise, unpatriotic, and vicious propositions I am now and always expect to be opposed. I protest against this scheme to plunder and oppress the plain people of this country in order to make profit for the favored few. This measure ought to be entitled "A bill to aid national banks and enrich the gold trust and bond syndicate by the impoverishment of the people."

OPPOSED TO NATIONAL BANKS.

But the national banks must be cared for by the Republican party, nor must the Grand Old Party forget the bond sharks.

The chief purpose of this bill is to delegate to the national banks the power to issue and privilege to control the entire volume of paper currency in the United States. In the accomplishment of this cruel and wicked design interest-bearing gold bonds to an amount satisfactory to the bond hunters will no doubt be the most active instrumentality. Issue bonds to replenish the gold reserve and then deplete it by the purchase for retirement of greenbacks and other Government paper currency with the gold until the national banks are left without a solitary check upon their merciless manipulations of the circulating medium. It is a conservative estimate that fixes the possible volume of national-bank notes at one-third of the circulation, and it is believed will be nearer one-half when this measure shall have been in operation for one or two years. Armed with this high function of government, those in charge of the banks will see that it is so exercised as to bring profit to them, though it plunder the people and dishonor the Government.

The circulation will be contracted or expanded whenever there is a promise of reward to themselves, though it should, "like a thief in the night," steal away the fortunes and happiness of men by the millions. The power to control the volume of circulation carries with it the possibility of striking down fortunes and wrecking homes and can not be safely reposed where avarice will tempt or revenge will inspire its unfaithful execution.

Banks of deposit and discount are a benefaction, but those of issue are a curse to any citizenship. Such institutions are condemned alike by past experience and the teachings of statesmen.

In 1803 Mr. Jefferson wrote Mr. Gallatin:

This institution (The United States Bank) is one of the most deadly hostilities existing against the principles and form of our Government. * * * Ought we, then, to give further growth to an institution so powerful, so hostile? * * * Now, while we are strong, it is the greatest duty we owe to the safety of our Constitution to bring this powerful enemy to a perfect subordination under its authorities. The first measure would be to reduce them to an equal footing with other banks as to the favors of the Government.

On September 11, 1813, he wrote Mr. Eppes:

Bank paper must be suppressed and the circulating medium must be restored to the nation, to which it belongs.

Andrew Jackson said:

If Congress has the right under the Constitution to issue paper money, it was given them to be used by themselves and not to be delegated to individuals or corporations.

In his Thirty Years in the United States Senate Thomas H. Benton says:

Experience had shown such an institution (United States Bank) to be a political machine adverse to free government, mingling in the elections and legislation of the country, corrupting the press and exercising its influence in the only way known to the money power—by corruption. General Jackson's objections reached both heads of the case—the unconstitutionality of the bank and its inexpediency.

General Jackson, by his indomitable courage and heroic efforts, drove from existence the United States Bank at the termination of its second charter, and from that time to the civil war the Democratic party lost no opportunity to denounce the system. In the national banking act the Republican party substantially revived it, and in the lifetime of these the history of the old bank has at least in some respects been repeated.

By some hidden influence the Secretary of the Treasury was induced upon the close of the war to enter upon the work of retiring the paper circulating as currency, and would have continued this disastrous policy had not the act of January, 1868, prohibited its further enforcement.

Again, subsequent to 1875, under the guise of resumption, this same scheme to aid the national banks was inaugurated, but the act of May 31, 1878, denying the Secretary the right to further retire greenbacks, was passed.

The intents of men are not discernible except as they mature into action; but, tracing these policies to the motives that induced them, as you would the stream to the fountain, you must arrive at the conclusion that they were intended to benefit the national banks of the country. Could the taxpayers of America be made more happy or wealthy by the conversion of a noninterest-bearing currency into interest-bearing bonds? No, gentlemen; the purpose then as now was to endow the national banks with the valuable prerogative conferred by this bill.

But these are not the only instances in which they are reputed to have attempted to bring about favorable action on the part of the Government. Emanating from some one, there was scattered throughout this country in the early spring of 1893, to bankers and capitalists, the following circular letter, viz:

DEAR SIR: The interests of national bankers require immediate financial legislation by Congress. Silver, silver certificates, and Treasury notes must be retired and the national bank notes upon a gold basis made the only money. This will require the authorization of from \$500,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000 of new bonds as a basis of circulation. You will at once retire one-third of your circulation and call in one-half of your loans. Be careful to make a money stringency felt among your patrons, especially among influential business men. Advocate an extra session of Congress for the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman law, and act with the other banks of your city in securing a petition to Congress for its unconditional repeal per accompanying form. Use personal influence with Congressmen, and particularly let your wishes be known to your Senators. The future life of national banks as fixed and safe investments depends upon immediate action, as there is an increasing sentiment in favor of Government legal-tender notes and silver coinage.

Following this, Congress was convened in extraordinary session; a "money stringency" was felt from shore to shore; the "purchase clause" was repealed and Congress requested to authorize the issue of "gold bonds," which it refused. How much these institutions had to do with the origin, prevalence, and atrocity of the panic of 1893 will perhaps never be fully known, but that they contributed in some measure is manifested by the reduction of their circulating notes from 1887 to 1893 in the sum of \$96,075,508. They are largely responsible for the endless chain whose first link was wrought by Secretary Foster, as appears from the following telegram:

OCTOBER 1, 1891.

PHINEAS PIERCE,
53 Sumner Street, Boston, Mass.:

Assistant Treasurer Kennard has been instructed to redeem Treasury notes in gold.

CHAS. FOSTER, Secretary.

And whose circuit was practically completed before the Harrison Administration passed, as appears from the following order, viz:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., February 20, 1893.

SIR: You are hereby authorized and directed to prepare designs for the 3 per cent bonds provided in a Senate amendment to sundry civil bill now pending. The denominations which should first receive attention are 100's

and 1,000's of the coupon bonds, and 100's, 1,000's, and 10,000's of the registered bonds. This authority is given in advance of the enactment, in view of pressing contingencies, and you are directed to hasten the preparation of the designs and plates in every possible manner. I inclose a memorandum for your guidance in preparing the script for the body of the bonds.

Respectfully yours,

CHARLES FOSTER, Secretary.

The CHIEF OF THE BUREAU OF ENGRAVING AND PRINTING.

How great an influence they may have exerted in securing a reversal of the rulings of Secretary Foster in reference to silver certificates and silver dollars through the following utterances of Carlisle and Gage it is not possible to tell, but that there was a reversal of Foster's position is shown by a letter written by Secretary Gage on November 4, 1897, to Mr. C. F. Taylor, of Philadelphia, Pa., from which I quote as follows:

It may be added that it was officially declared by the late Secretary of the Treasury that "although silver dollars and silver certificates have not up to the present time been received in exchange for gold, yet if the time should ever come when the parity can not otherwise be maintained, such exchange will be made." This would no doubt be the rule of action now if required to maintain the parity. Such a contingency, however, has not yet arisen, and so far as can now be seen is not likely to arise.

Respectfully, yours,

L. J. GAGE, Secretary.

For these reasons the national-bank features of this bill are seriously objectionable, and in the name of the splendid constituency I represent I not only protest against the extension of the Government's favors to these institutions but appeal for the withdrawal of those they now enjoy.

AGAINST GOLD STANDARD—REPUBLICAN MISCONCEPTION OF VALUE.

To those who have listened to or read the argument of gentlemen on the other side of this Chamber it is glaringly apparent that they are either ignorant or purposely conceal their knowledge of the conditions that give origin to value. They constantly refer to it as an intrinsic quality of the material used for money purposes. For instance, in the course of his remarks the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. OVERSTREET] said:

The legal-tender quality adds no value to money, but merely makes provision whereby debts may be discharged by the tender of specific kinds of money, which, being good, the creditor is bound to accept.

In a certain sense this is true, and yet there has not been made upon this floor within recent times a statement more artfully misleading than the one quoted. The Congress alone can make or designate a legal-tender money for this country; and while that does not directly add value, it does, as admitted by him, "make provision whereby debts may be discharged," etc., and this power conferred by law to discharge debts causes people who owe debts, must pay taxes, and effect exchanges to want this money for these purposes. The entire population enters the competitive struggle to obtain every such dollar, and its value rises and falls as the supply and demand for them fluctuate. It creates a demand for such money, and this demand, the supply being limited, creates value in it.

Again, the gentleman, referring to the efforts of the Government to supply the deficiency in money and to cause it to circulate by making it legal tender, says:

The universal and absolute failure of all such efforts is sufficient evidence that this quality is not a quality of value. There is not a single instance in the history of finance where the legal-tender quality added to the money has enabled it to circulate at a greater value than its intrinsic value where it does not possess equally the pledge and faith of the Government for its full redemption.

The gentleman's memory has grown treacherous and untrustworthy, for I am sure he knows that the so-called trade dollar, containing 420 grains of silver, but not possessing full legal-tender power, fell in value to 80 cents, while the standard silver dollar, containing but 412½ grains of silver, possessing full legal-tender power, kept at a parity with the gold dollar, and that without any pledge on the part of the Government to redeem it in gold.

This occurrence within recent years ought to satisfy the gentlemen on the other side that there is a marked difference between a dollar possessing full legal-tender power and one that does not. It will not be possible for the gentlemen to escape the dilemma by the contention that the Government was pledged to maintain the parity and equal value of the one and not the other, because it has never been hinted that there was any such duty resting upon the Government until the passage of the Sherman law in 1890, and this disparity occurred before that date. Indeed, Secretary Foster, as late as February and December, 1893, held that silver coin and silver certificates were not redeemable in gold, as appears by the following correspondence:

TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C., February 13, 1893.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 12th instant, in which you ask whether silver certificates have been redeemed in gold coin; in what amount and on what authority. I have to state in reply thereto that, so far as this office is concerned, it has never been done, nor have any of the subtreasury offices been authorized to do so, and no departmental instructions have been received to that effect.

Respectfully yours,

E. H. NEBEKER,
Treasurer United States.

Hon. H. M. TELLER, United States Senate.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Washington, December 7, 1893.

MY DEAR SIR: I have your favor of December 7. I beg to inform you that silver dollars are not, in law or in practice, exchanged for gold or for paper that calls for gold.

Very respectfully,

CHARLES FOSTER.

Hon. H. M. TELLER, *United States Senate.*

Nothing could more conclusively demonstrate to the thoughtful students of the question a total lack of knowledge of the origin of value than do such expressions as those quoted upon the part of the gentlemen who give utterance to them. The intrinsic qualities of matter can not be destroyed or impaired by the failure to use it; and if value were one of the intrinsic qualities of gold and silver, it could no more be destroyed or changed by ceasing to convert these metals into money or use them as commercial commodity than could their hardness, malleability, and other inherent qualities.

In the commerce of the world there are requisitions for both gold and silver; and if not one ounce of either were employed for monetary use, these metals would still be valuable as articles of commerce, though no one is so stupid as to believe their value would be so great when so restricted in use. Nor does any man entertain the opinion that these metals would have value if there were no use to which they could be applied, for, in such an event, no one would want them and, not wanting them, would give nothing of value in exchange for them. This view, sound in logic, is sanctioned by a long and unbroken line of authorities that have often been cited in and out of this Chamber in the discussion of this question, and to a few of which I now call attention.

Jevons, in the *Value of Gold*, says:

Value, like utility, is no intrinsic quality of a thing; it is an extrinsic accident or relation.

Again he says:

Value is not a property of anything. It arises wholly out of relations which exist between things.

Francis A. Walker, in his *Money and its Relations to Trade and Industry*, states as follows:

Money no doubt is the produce of labor, but, as Adam Smith observes, if it would exchange for nothing, it would have no value; so M. Say says that the value of gold and silver consists only in what they will buy.

McLeod says:

There is no such thing as intrinsic value.

If, then, value is not inherent or an intrinsic quality of matter, it follows irrefutably that it must have its origin in extraneous circumstances and conditions, and to deal with a question of such vital importance legislators ought, if they have not heretofore done so, advise themselves most fully as to what these are.

Senator JOHN P. JONES has defined value to be:

Human estimation placed upon desirable objects whose quantity is limited.

And, speaking for myself, I have been unable to detect any error or lack of completeness in this definition. It is sound in reason, supported by the best thought of the ages, and no man has since its utterance appeared upon the arena of public life in this or any other country who has been able to point out any fallacy in it.

It seems to me to be axiomatic, for if there is no desire on the part of anyone for a given thing, it can not be exchanged for another thing of value; while, on the other hand, if the quantity is unlimited, it can not be exchanged for a thing of value, because it can be had without the surrender of such other things. The conclusion is irresistible and unavoidable that the value of money, or anything else whose quantity is limited, depends upon the demand and supply. In logic the truth of this proposition has never been and it is safe to say can never be overthrown. In the history of monetary affairs and commerce it has been established by the occurrences of every day since the world began, and the sooner the lawmakers recognize and accept this fundamental principle the earlier will come the possibility and unfeeling hope of the correction of our unsound and unsafe system.

MONEY DEFINED.

Nothing is actual money that does not possess the legal-tender power or needs itself to be redeemed. Hence I define money to be an irredeemable thing, a solvent of debts and medium of exchange. The dollar is the unit in this country of its denominations and this unit is subdivided into fractional parts. All contracts for the payment of money specify the number of units and parts of units to be paid, and must be discharged without reference to the value of the unit at the time of the fulfillment of the obligation. For if a man to-day agrees to pay another \$1,000 twenty years hence, there is no judicial tribunal to be found that would not hold the obligor bound when it became due to pay that number of dollars, though it required twice as much of the products of his labor and articles of commerce generally to secure them as he would now have to give in exchange therefor.

The terms of the agreement and the law preclude the consideration of the change in value of the dollar, notwithstanding the resultant effect may have been extremely disastrous to the debtor

and profitable to the creditor, or vice versa. Gentlemen upon this floor have seen within their own times friend after friend fall in the struggle with the appreciating dollar and sink beneath its cumulative burdens into hopeless insolvency and utter despair.

As a medium of exchange people look not merely to the dollar, but to the exchangeable or purchasing power of the dollar, and whatever this may at the time happen to be is its value.

There may be those who have never considered it, but it is not conceivable that any human intelligence has ever studied the question and concluded that the value of the dollar, whether of paper, silver, or gold, is fixed and unchanging. Indeed, the fool who will learn in no other way than by "the hard school of experience" knows that it does change as the conditions upon which it is dependent vary. The principal factors in controlling it are the supply and demand, first, of and for dollars, and, secondly, of and for articles of commerce.

Demand for money arises from the natural and artificial wants of mankind, and the functions assigned it by law, and the necessities of trade, and in the aggregate exclusive of that pressing upon it for service in the payment of debts is at any given time equivalent to a very large per cent of human desires for all other things. For, if one want a hoe or a hat, a dress or a diamond, the preliminary wish is for dollars with which it may be had.

The supply of money is fixed by law, either directly, as in cases where the power and discretion to control the quantity to be issued are given to some department of government, or indirectly in the selection of the money material by naming it in the law.

The demand for money is always urgent and, except in times of business depression, increasing, so that it is a matter of the most serious importance that the supply by direction or indirection resting with the law should be maintained at such relations with the demand for it as will insure a fairly remunerative price for the commodities for which it is exchanged. That the purchasing power of the dollar is not always the same may be shown not only by the infallible rules of logic, but by the declarations of the most learned authors who have written upon this interesting topic.

Aristotle said:

Money by itself * * * has value only by law and not by nature; so that a change of convention between those who use it is sufficient to deprive it of all its value and power to satisfy all our wants.

John Locke, in *Considerations, etc., Regarding Money*, says:

Mankind having covenanted to put an imaginary value upon gold and silver by reason of their durability, scarcity, and not being very liable to be counterfeited, have made them, by general consent, the common pledges whereby men are assured in exchange for them to receive equally valuable things to those they parted with for any quantity of those metals; by which means it comes to pass that the intrinsic value regard in those metals made the common barter is nothing but the quantity which men give or receive of them, they having as money no other value but as pledges to procure what one wants or desires.

Again, he says:

But if you increase or lessen the quantity of money current in traffic in any place, then the alteration in value is in the money.

David Hume says:

It is not difficult to perceive that it is the total quantity of the money in circulation in any country which determines what portion of that quantity shall exchange for a certain portion of the goods or commodities of that country.

James Mill says:

In whatever degree the quantity of money is increased or diminished, other things maintaining the same, in that same proportion the value of the whole and of every part is reciprocally diminished or increased.

John Stuart Mill says:

The value of money, other things being the same, varies inversely as its quantity, every increase of quantity lowering the value and every diminution raising it in a ratio exactly equivalent.

Ricardo says:

The value of money in any country is determined by the amount existing. * * * That commodities would rise or fall in price in proportion to the increase or diminution of money I assume as a fact incontrovertible.

Says Cernuschi:

The purchasing power of money is in direct proportion to the volume of money existing.

Francis A. Walker states:

The value of money in any country is determined by the amount existing.

Human reason sometimes errs, and it is barely possible, though not probable, that these great scholars, one and all, may have been mistaken either in premise or conclusion. There is yet another evidence, not merely persuasive, but, in my opinion, conclusive, touching this matter, and it is to be found in the history of prices of staple products. If, then, money, whether gold or silver, varies in value, we have not the choice between a unit that does and one that does not vary, but rather a selection between standards, all of which change with the varying conditions that dominate every one of them.

WHY I AM FOR THE BIMETALLIC STANDARD.

If the standard shall be of gold or of silver alone, its measuring capacity will vacillate with every movement of the demand for or

supply of it, while if it be made of both I conceive that the supply will be less liable to fluctuate, because when there may be a diminution in the one it may be overcome by an increase in the other metal available for coinage. If this should occur only at rare intervals, it would serve to avert the disturbances, wrecks, and ruins that otherwise would crush thousands of our countrymen.

The prosperity and happiness of our people demand a system that will guarantee a sufficient quantity of basic money, and if in an effort to secure it we should adopt a plan that would, as some appear to apprehend, produce too much, it would be infinitely more easy to cure that defect and protect the country against its evil consequences, if any, than it will be if we establish one that will give too little; in which case irreparable losses, baffling human ingenuity to escape, would be visited upon our fellow-citizens. [Applause.]

I am for the bimetallic standard, not only for these prudential reasons, but because it is neither a new nor unsuccessful experiment in the United States, the opinion of the clamorous recent converts on the other side to the contrary notwithstanding. It was given to our constitutional Government upon the counsel and advice of Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, the ablest and most profound exponents of their respective schools of political economy in their age and time, if, indeed, not since the foundation of the Republic. It came to us when the love of country and people was at its high tide and before the besom of selfishness had infected our free institutions. It received the sanction of the wisdom and patriotism of all citizens, native and adopted, for more than eighty years of our national life, during which the marvelous and matchless progress of an honest, intelligent, energetic, and unselfish population in material, moral, and mental development challenged the admiration of the civilized world and caused the most advanced nations to shudder for the safety of their laurels. [Applause.]

I know it has been said that because of the changes made by the acts of 1834 and 1837 we have been upon the gold basis since then, and even the act of 1853, which related to the quantity of silver thereafter to be used in the coinage of the subsidiary coin, has been invoked to aid the rudderless arguments of our opponents.

These changes, as everyone in the least familiar with the subject is aware, were made to prevent speculators from shipping our coin to countries which were coining the particular metal at a higher ratio than it was coined by the United States, and, instead of detracting from, fortifies and strengthens our contention that when a government confers the legal-tender power upon money made of any given metal, it produces a desire for it that enhances its value.

The relative value of gold and silver in 1873 has been cited as evidence of the fact that it can not be affected by legislation. This is a most unfortunate citation for our adversaries when the full story is told. At that time France was coining silver at the ratio of 15½ to 1, so that under her law 359.9 grains of that metal could be converted into a coin equal in value to a gold dollar, while in this country we were putting 371½ grains into the silver dollar. Hence ours was by the effect of the French law driven to a premium. Differently stated, it was as follows, viz:

	Ratio.	Value in gold.
371½ grains of silver.....	16 to 1	\$1.00
Do.....	15½ to 1	1.0315
1 ounce of silver.....	16 to 1	1.2929
Do.....	15½ to 1	1.3337
United States unit, 371½ grains of silver.....		1.00
French unit, 359.9 grains of silver.....		1.00

But if we had not this satisfactory and convincing experience that attended our course under that standard to guide us now into the pathway of safety and good fortune, there is eminent authority that should be of more than passing influence on the Republican side to support the view that the Constitution—to whose mandates we should ever render a cheerful obedience—forbids the destruction of this ancient system. I may add at this point, and with much pride, that I am in my political affiliation one of that class that holds and teaches that the Constitution should be strictly but fairly construed and, when so construed, observed with an unflinching fidelity. [Applause.]

Hon. Daniel Webster said:

I am clearly of the opinion that gold and silver at ratios fixed by Congress constitute the legal standard of value in this country, and that neither Congress nor any State has authority to establish any other standard or to displace this standard.

Hon. James G. Blaine said:

I believe gold and silver coin to be the money of the Constitution. No power was conferred on Congress to declare either metal should not be money. Congress has, in my judgment, no power to demonetize silver any more than to demonetize gold.

But Republicans tell us that this constitutional standard, if adhered to, will flood the country with money. This, if true,

would be a cogent reason for a change, but no justification for a violation of the fundamental law. But is it true?

By the official statement issued from the Treasury Department December 1, 1899, it is shown that there has been coined but 482,622,376 standard silver dollars in our entire history, and in the same document the paper currency in the United States on the same date is certified at \$1,268,783,987, or nearly three times the sum of silver dollars.

If, in addition to our silver and gold coin, more money to the extent of this enormous amount is required, no sufficient reason has been or can be given, in my opinion, why it should not be supplied in both silver and gold, if possible.

If, then, the Government should undertake, with mints wide open to the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold, to supplant this volume of paper currency, can any man number the years in which that work shall have been fully completed?

It is no answer to this to say that a paper circulation is more convenient than a metallic one, for wisely enough has it been provided that the holder of gold or silver coin may deposit it in the Treasury and receive gold or silver certificates, according to the coin deposited, in lieu thereof. This is the ancient and abiding doctrine of the Democratic party, the tried and approved principle of a sound finance. [Applause.]

According to the report of the Director of the Mint for 1898, there was then on hand in the principal countries of the world \$4,594,900,000 in gold, \$3,977,500,000 in silver, and \$2,322,800,000 in uncovered paper.

This gold and silver money was the net results of the accumulations of all the countries since the use of these metals for money began, and yet the figures show that they were not sufficient to meet the wants for money by \$2,322,800,000. If, beginning its use as money as early as the human race did, there is now but \$3,977,500,000 of it, then tell me how far down the line of the centuries to come it will be before this vast fund of uncovered paper money used for the lack of the metals can be substituted by the new acquisitions of silver, and then how much longer till the flood? [Applause.]

The supporters of this measure insist with apparent earnestness that the course of affairs since 1896 has destroyed what they term "the free-silver heresy" and point to advanced prices as indisputable proof. We have in the past and do now contend that not only gold and silver is the money of the Constitution, but that if limited to gold the essential amount of basic money can not be had. The facts are that by importations and productions the gold coin and bullion in the United States were increased from July 1, 1896, to July 1, 1899, in the sum of \$363,267,541, if the official reports can be relied upon. This was an increase of 60 per cent in the money of final redemption, and the effect upon prices exemplifies our invincible argument. Of this sum \$200,954,193 was secured by net imports of gold coin and bullion, and while it increased our stock it impaired that of other nations, and can not be said to have been an accretion to the common store.

By fiscal years it was as follows, viz:

Year ending June 30—	
1897.....	\$44,653,200
1898.....	104,868,476
1899.....	51,432,517
Total.....	200,954,193

The balance of \$162,313,348 must represent the productions for that time of the mines in the United States, which would be an average annual production of \$54,004,449. It is hardly within the scope of well-founded expectations that this high yield should continue through any considerable number of years. The gold product of the United States mines averaged \$49,050,000 for the calendar years 1877 and 1878, but for the twenty-four years beginning with 1873 and ending with 1896 the average was only \$36,822,833. Still, should our mines maintain this generous flow when proper reductions are made for the part used in the arts and sciences and that necessary to replace the worn, lost, and destroyed coin, it is difficult to see how the necessities that arise from the growth of our population at the rate of nearly three million per annum and expanding commerce are to be met by this product.

My gold-standard friends, if you are anticipating with confidence that this precious metal will continue to rush in upon us from foreign shores, let me admonish you that it is a venture full of danger to chain this country to such a standard upon the assumption—for it can be no more than such—that there will be at least equal additions in the years to come. Confident myself that they do not have the element of certainty to that degree that intelligent men ought to make them the basis of legislation like this, I appeal to the history of the importations of this metal for the years that lie behind us to convince you of the hazard in doing so. The records of your Government—and you ought not to ignore them—show that such acquisitions of gold, like the tides, ebb and flow. The net exports of gold from the United States from June

30, 1864, to June 30, 1877, amounted to \$561,639,427; the net imports from June 30, 1877, to June 30, 1888, were \$224,192,846; and the net exports from June 30, 1888, to June 30, 1896, reached the sum of \$323,628,544.

The net exportations, as stated for the period from 1888 to 1896, almost equals one-third of the gold said to be in the United States now, and assuming that the history of that time may repeat itself, it is apparent that it would be criminal on our part to ignore it and base our actions solely upon the occurrences of the past three years.

REPUBLICANS HAVE CHANGED POSITION.

But, Mr. Chairman, I can not conclude my remarks upon this interesting subject without calling attention to the conduct of your party touching it. The time has been within recent years when your most conspicuous leaders, as well as thousands of the rank and file of your party, were not unmindful of the wisdom and justice of the cause for which we now contend, nor did it discredit their party standing to declare for the system that your party now endeavors to destroy. More than that can be said. The Republican party more than once in national convention plighted its faith and avowed its devotion to the bimetallic standard.

In 1888 the Republican platform said:

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

Waterer apologetic explanations may be attempted, this was intended to and did give the American voters to understand that you were then for the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver.

In 1892 the Republican platform, touching this question, read:

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetallicism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions to be determined by legislation as will secure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals, so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether of silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal, etc.

I omit the part merely commending the efforts to bring about an international conference. If there had been any doubt as to the kind of money referred to in the 1888 resolution, this utterance removed it by announcing that the party was for "both gold and silver as standard money."

Your platform in 1896, so far as the money question is concerned, is fairly and accurately stated in this clause, to wit:

We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such an agreement is obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved.

In 1888 your party was so enthusiastically for free silver that it was not content with the enunciation of its position, but it even arraigned in vigorous terms an alleged Democratic Administration for its animosity toward the white metal.

In the next national council of the party (1892) you thought you were still for the two as "standard money," but having some misgivings, due, no doubt, to the lack of instructions from the masters, you left as an avenue of escape the provision that there should be some safeguards thrown around it by legislation so as to insure the same purchasing power for the dollars of each.

In 1896 the party proclaimed that it was steadfast in the faith, provided other nations could be induced to embrace it; otherwise you were against it. But you pledged your Administration to an honest, faithful missionary service in its behalf. You sent your commissioners to foreign courts, and when objections were being dissipated and the prospects of success were brightening your chief financial officer, a member of the President's official family, began writing letters and giving out interviews to the resident correspondents of the foreign press which made and were intended to make the impression upon the minds of those with whom the commission were treating that the American people were not earnestly for the bimetallic standard. Of this course on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury the President was fully apprised by Senator CHANDLER. Strange indeed it was that the Secretary thus attempted to thwart the execution of an honorable obligation resting upon his party, and especially upon the President, but stranger even than this is the fact that the President, having been thus informed, did not seek to counteract the effects of the Secretary's efforts. He was bound not only by the platform upon which he was elected, but in his letter of acceptance he gave his pledge to enforce it, as follows:

The Republican party has declared in favor of an international agreement, and if elected President it will be my duty to employ all proper means to promote it.

In making his report orally to the Senate of the United States on January 17, 1898, Senator WOLCOTT, who was chairman of the Bimetallic Commission, referred to these matters as follows:

We were also somewhat embarrassed by the statements of representatives of the New York bankers in England, who sought access to English officials and assured them that any sentiment which had formerly existed in the

United States in favor of bimetallicism was dead; that the commission was sent solely as a sop to a few far Western Republicans; that the country generally favored the gold standard, and that the President of the United States shared this view.

The statements were untrue, of course, but in support of them these people assumed to present interviews and statements of the Director of the Mint, a hold-over from the last Administration, the late Comptroller of the Currency, an equally precious legacy, now out of the public service and translated to a Chicago bank, and pretended statements in letters and interviews from the Secretary of the Treasury to the effect that there was no chance for international or other bimetallicism and favoring the permanent adoption of the gold standard. Nobody in Europe cared a rap what the two minor prophets thought or said, as nobody in this country cares, but the alleged statements of the Secretary were a different matter. * * * In my opinion the great majority of the members of the Republican party are bimetallicists, and the fact that they are misrepresented by a Cabinet officer is not pleasing but endurable.

The President and his party had evidently concluded to make an open avowal for the gold standard, for within two hours of the time fixed for the final adjournment of the extra session of the Fifty-fifth Congress he sent a special message to that body, transmitting with it a report from the Indianapolis gold convention committee, and said:

I commend this report to the consideration of Congress. * * * This subject should receive the attention of Congress at this special session. It ought not to be postponed until the regular session.

After this, on the 28th of January, 1898, at a reception at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York, in a speech delivered, the President said:

It will not suffice for citizens nowadays to say simply that they are in favor of sound money. That is not enough. The people's purpose must be given the validity of public law.

He now is more bold than then, and in his annual message sent to the present Congress, he says:

While there is now no commercial fright which withdraws gold from the Government, but, on the contrary, such widespread confidence that gold seeks the Treasury demanding paper money in exchange, yet the very situation points to the present as the most fitting time to make adequate provision to insure the continuance of the gold standard and public confidence in the ability and purpose of the Government to meet all its obligations in the money which the civilized world recognizes as the best.

The President has not always entertained this view of the money question. On November 5, 1877, he voted for the Bland free-coinage bill. On February 28, 1878, he voted for the Bland-Allison Act and aided in the passage of that law notwithstanding the President's veto. He was chairman of the committee on platform in the national convention of his party of 1888 and reported the resolution in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money. On June 14, 1890, in this House, he said:

I am for the biggest use of silver in the currency of the country. I would not dishonor it; I would give it credit and honor with gold. I would make no discrimination. I would utilize both metals as money and discredit neither. I want the double standard.

And he is the same William McKinley who, in a speech at Akron, Ohio, in 1891, said of Grover Cleveland:

During all his years at the head of the Government he was dishonoring one of our precious metals, one of our own great products—discrediting silver and enhancing the price of gold. He endeavored, even before his inauguration to office, to stop the coinage of silver dollars, and afterwards and to the end of his Administration persistently used his power to that end. He was determined to contract the circulating medium and demonetize one of the coins of commerce, limit the volume of money among the people, make money scarce, and therefore dear.

He would have increased the value of money and diminished the value of everything else—money the master and everything else the servant. He was not thinking of the poor then. He had left their side. He was not standing forth in their defense. Cheap coats, cheap labor, and dear money; the sponsor and promoter of these professing to stand guard over the poor and lowly. Was there ever more glaring inconsistency or reckless assumption? He believes that poverty is a blessing, to be promoted and encouraged, and that a shrinkage in value of everything but money is a national benediction.

There is in the immediate front of your party in this country a national contest, in which you will have to explain to the American people why your party has undergone such transformation of sentiments since the election of 1896. You may be able to meet the expectations of the people in this direction, but at present I do not see how it will be possible.

CONCLUSION.

But, without further comment upon this phase of the question, I desire to say, in conclusion, that from the hour it became manifest that this country was to be chained to the single gold standard the clouds of distress became darker and thicker about our pathway and the shocks of disaster grew more numerous, terrific, and far-reaching, until the very foundations of our financial institutions seemed as if they were about to crumble into hopeless ruin. Special causes, easily traceable by the student of public affairs and not of enduring character, have temporarily checked the ravages of this vicious system; but when these causes, like the conditions that gave birth to them, have ceased to exist and be operative, as in the vicissitudes of a brief span they will, it is not improbable that the storm of financial disaster will again bear down upon us in all its horrible fury and relentless devastation.

The righteous appeal that we have so lately heard from every section of our common country finds no response in this measure.

Under it the dollar, now too exalted, can never be dethroned, and its purchasing power over the products of farm and mine will certainly not grow less and may reach limits hitherto unknown. Staggering under its blighting effects, from those who delve in mines, those who cultivate and cajole the fields into yielding bountiful harvests, and all the tolling millions will come the mighty cry, until its echoes and reechoes will be heard in every section, even in this capital city, and heeded by a Congress willing to serve the plain people rather than do the bidding of the money trust, the bond syndicates, and the national banks. With a vivid recollection of the sufferings and sacrifices of our fellow-citizens in the past under your gold standard, I again denounce this bill, which can not fail to bring power and fortune to the few, nor likewise miscarry in its mission of peril and desolation to the many. [Applause.]

[Mr. BERRY addressed the committee. See Appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized for eight minutes.

Mr. LACEY. I would like to ask the gentleman from Kentucky a question.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has no time. The gentleman from North Carolina has the floor.

Mr. ATWATER. Mr. Chairman, the limited time allotted to me in this debate will not permit me to make an extended argument upon this great financial question. However, it is not necessary that I should do so, as the question has heretofore been very fully discussed and the great American people have studied this question of bimetallism or monometallism and have already made up their verdict. My own position among the people of my district is too well known to need any affirmation at this time. With the intelligence which always characterizes them in their study of public questions, they have concluded that the success of bimetallism is necessary to the prosperity of the great body of our people. I do not think I am exaggerating the truth when I say that a large majority of the citizens of the United States have reached a similar conclusion. The Republican party have never declared against bimetallism, and when their leaders and speakers have been charged heretofore with favoring the single gold standard as the money of ultimate redemption they have always repudiated the suggestion and claimed that they were bimetallists, provided that this condition could be effected by international agreement.

They have claimed that the United States could not alone put into operation the double standard of gold and silver without the aid and cooperation of the other great powers in the world. The present Administration among its first official acts after it came into power was to appoint a junketing commission to visit the continental powers with the professed purpose of obtaining their consent for the restoration of silver to an equality with gold.

It has transpired in this debate that there is scarcely a prominent Republican member of this House, long in public life, who has not heretofore in the discussions of this question in this Hall unqualifiedly committed himself against the single gold standard; and it is said that there are few more exhaustive or logical arguments in favor of bimetallism than contained in a speech delivered in this House some years ago by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois, Mr. CANNON.

This position of the Republican party and of its distinguished members was either a result of sincere conviction, or was, perhaps, part of a deliberately preconceived plan to deceive the people of this country. Great truths are not intended to be bandied about from year to year, or to be changed, chameleon-like, to suit the whims or fancies of individuals or parties or decades. There are some axioms of finance which appear to have established themselves as firmly as any well-known principle of political economy, and one of these is the theory of bimetallism.

During the fluctuations which have occurred from time to time in the production of the precious metals, during the recurring stages of depression and prosperous times—considering the selfish ambitions of large owners of wealth of the country and the wants and demands of the great mass of the people, considering the conditions of producers and consumers, of the capitalist and of the laborer, of the agriculturists and the manufacturers—the great principle of bimetallism had embodied itself into the financial economics of the world as the best system which could be devised to serve the interest of all classes and to preserve the great principle of equality between the breadwinner and the employer of labor.

The Republican party until to-day has never dared to favor legislation which declared openly and unequivocally against bimetallism. Were it not for this deception which the other side has practiced before the people there would have been an unmistakable majority in this House to-day opposed to this bill. They have practiced a deception upon the people, and they are now proposing to reap the result of this long period of duplicity and double dealing. I am glad that they have thrown off the garb which they have worn so long and that they now appear in their true position

upon this question. The gauntlet has been thrown down, and it is for the American people to decide in that great battle which will be waged in 1900 whether this Government shall be administered in the interest of the creditor class who hold our bonds and other evidences of indebtedness or in favor of the interests of the great body of the people who claim that their Government should stand for "equal privileges to all and special privileges to none."

The Republican party in North Carolina has even gone further in its declaration for bimetallism than the national Republican party. They have in their State platform often declared for bimetallism and the restoration of silver, and the few Republicans in this State who have aligned themselves with the national Republican party have invariably been retired to private life, and not one of this class to-day occupies a seat in either branch of the Fifth-sixth Congress nor any prominent position within the State of North Carolina. That party within the past few years has had the effrontery in my State to approach the Populist party and ask for their cooperation and to claim that there was no distinction between the Populist party and the Republican party upon this great financial question. Can it be that the leaders of the party in my State have no fixed political convictions and that they are guided simply by their desire for the spoils of office? The Republican member of this House from my State, the distinguished gentleman from the Eighth district, Mr. LINNEY, has frequently made speeches in his district and boldly claimed that he was a bimetallist and that he would omit no opportunity to favor any legislation which recognized the use of both gold and silver as basic metals.

The distinguished senior Senator from my State, Mr. PRITCHARD, has pledged himself openly and before the people to vote for the restoration of silver to its ancient rights as a money metal whenever such a proposition should come before the Senate as a separate bill.

My colleagues in this House know that when it was charged against the Republican party in our State that they were in favor of the gold standard that in every instance they stood before the people and with unabashed effrontery said, "We are as much in favor of bimetallism as you are, the only difference between us being that we wish it through international agreement."

Yet, in the face of this record of the Republican party in my State, the distinguished gentleman, Mr. LINNEY, made a speech this week upon this floor in which he claimed that he had undergone a contrite repentance and experienced a glorious conversion by which he had abandoned his beautiful theories of bimetallism and was now in favor of this bill. What has caused this change of front? At the feet of what Gamaliel has he studied this question and imbibed so much new wisdom? Has he been worshipping at the altar of Mammon? Has he been listening to the siren voices of the prosperous bondholders or was the whip of the party lash applied in the Republican caucus which brought about this repentance and his bright conversion? He will in all probability have an opportunity of explaining to the people of North Carolina the details of this remarkable conversion and of telling them how the scales of ignorance fell from his eyes, and it is to be hoped that he will accompany his explanation with stereopticon views of the beautiful process.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR] said that of all the promises that the bimetallists had made in 1896 not a single one has come true. The error of this statement has been most ably controverted by the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BAILEY]. No one rejoices at the prosperity which certain sections and industries of our country are enjoying more than myself. We said in 1896 that a greater volume of money, sufficient to meet the necessities not only of the financial centers but of the great agricultural sections of our country, was necessary in order to enhance prices, and we said, further, that enhanced prices indicated prosperity and that low prices indicated hard times. To-day we have a greater volume of money than we had in 1896 and to this fact is most largely attributable the present degree of prosperity.

How has the volume of money been increased? Not by legislation, but because the world's supply of gold has been increased. The wealth of the Klondike has been coined at our mints; the gold fields of South Africa have yielded the golden metal in unexampled quantities, and from various other sources the production of gold has largely increased, and, having the rights of free mintage at all the mints of the world, the increase of gold has entered into the channels of commerce and trade and industrial business, so that this partial prosperity offers affirmative proof of the correctness of our position which we maintained in 1896. What will you do when the world's production of gold is curtailed or when it fails to keep pace with the increase of population and commerce and industry of the business world? Then will it be that the falsity of your position and the soundness of our faith will be amply illustrated, and the blow which you are aiming to-day at the vital part of the American body politic will take its full effect, and the people will indignantly remove from power and place the party which inflicted so vital a wound.

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Indiana, I believe it was,

said that there was not a section in all these United States which was not prosperous. If he will go into the great tobacco belts of my State and of other States he will observe a condition very far removed from prosperity. In that golden belt of my State which produces the finest bright tobacco there was prosperity fifteen years ago. Tobacco sold at remunerative prices and yielded a fair profit upon the investment. Farm lands were in demand and sold at high prices, and yet the condition is reversed to-day. Tobacco sells at barely the cost of production, if so much, and lands that were formerly not upon the market may now be purchased at a ruinous sacrifice. This result has been largely effected by the tyrannical and ruinous methods of the great tobacco trust. Just as gold has been made the standard of value throughout the world and is controlled by the few, so has the great tobacco industry been absorbed by one gigantic corporation, which is to-day controlling the prices of the leaf tobacco of the farmers and of the manufactured product of the country. No government can be said to be "A government of the people, for the people, and by the people" so long as such a condition is possible under the forms of law.

There are many trusts, with a capital of millions of dollars, which control many of the staple products of the fields and of the mines and of the factories, but there is one other trust which overshadows all the others, as the great mountain overtops the valley below, and this is the great gold trust of the world.

It would be interesting to know the exact number of financial institutions and individuals in the United States which control the gold bullion and coin in this country, and, however few that number may be, it is still true that their number, in comparison to the population, is still less in the great powers of continental Europe, yet this metal, which is the only basic money and the money of ultimate redemption, is controlled by the few.

He who controls the money of a country controls prices, and he who controls prices with the power to enhance and diminish the prices of products has his hand upon the heart of the industrial and business world and can produce panics at his will, and who will deny that the holders of the gold of the world are closely allied together? And yet the Republican party is willing to go upon record in favor of fastening still more certainly these shackles upon the industrial world and of surrendering the great body of the people into the hands of this financial trust.

The bill under consideration is entitled "A bill to define and fix the standard of value, to maintain the parity of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States, and for other purposes." The title of the bill is erroneous. It should be entitled "A bill to take from the Treasury millions of dollars and pay over to the holders of the bonds of the United States and to the holders of other bonds and evidences of indebtedness through the country." It is a bill dictated by the selfish and all-prevailing power of capital and greed. There is not one line in the bill in the interest of the wage-earners or the producers of the country.

As the representative of a people who are entitled to be heard upon this floor, I protest against its passage and shall cast my vote against it. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. MOON. Mr. Chairman, I do not intend to engage in a general discussion of the financial question. Debate may be regarded as futile when a decision has been reached (by the majority party in caucus) before it begins, as is true in reference to the bill under discussion. I shall therefore give but a brief expression of my objections to the pending measure.

This bill is not demanded in the platform of any political party. It protects no popular right or interest. It comes alone at the bidding of those upon whom it confers special powers and benefits. Its theory has no recognition in any school of political economy.

It makes the gold dollar the unit of value, thus erecting the gold standard. If any benefit could possibly arise from this provision to the public, it is destroyed by the subsequent provisions of the bill.

While gold is made the unit of value, all other moneys of the United States are made mere credit moneys as contradistinguished from gold and forced to rest on the gold for support or redemption, which is totally inadequate for this purpose, even in view of its increased production, and this inadequacy is confessed on the face of the bill by the provision authorizing the sale of gold bonds to purchase gold to maintain the "reserve of gold" in the Treasury, that the credit moneys may thereby be held at parity with the standard adopted.

Thus, under this system the maintenance of the parity of our moneys does not depend alone on the standard fixed, but partly on the indebtedness (by issuing bonds) that we may incur to obtain the standard money. It then follows that the parity of the moneys must at last be maintained by the credit of the Government. This credit, under another system, might be used without the intervention of a gold purchase and give the same stability to the currency that the bond issue in purchasing gold can give—the credit would be as effectual under one system as the other. It must, then be clear that under the bill that the gold standard

can not be maintained while other moneys may depend upon it for support without the aid of a bond issue to in turn support it. If this could have been done, good faith to the people on the part of the Republicans would have caused a provision for it in this bill, and the bond feature of the bill could have been omitted.

Bimetallism alone can accomplish this result. The Chicago platform affords a scientific solution of the question in the interest of the people.

The bill erects the gold standard, but it carefully provides for the destruction of gold as a circulating medium by making all other moneys the instruments of its withdrawal by forced redemption from the Treasury, thus absorbing the gold, contracting the currency, destroying the values of property, and again imposing the burdens of debt on the people by a bond issue in unlimited amounts to give stability to the currency so often as the gold reserve falls below \$50,000,000.

The bill repudiates the existing contract between the United States and its bondholders in the interest of the bondholders and legislates additional value in bonds already issued and sold by making them payable in gold instead of coin, as provided in the bond—either gold or silver, at the Government's option. This provision is intended to enhance the value of the bonds in the market and will do so ultimately, since the purchasing power of the money they are now to be paid in will be increased as it is contracted, and the means of its contraction are ample in this bill, and the people must do the paying.

The power to issue bonds, or rather to determine the necessity for an issue and order the same, belongs to Congress and should be seldom exercised. The grant of this discretionary legislative power by the bill to the Secretary of the Treasury is unwise; its grant to issue such bonds in unlimited amounts is reckless.

The bill surrenders the power of Congress over money to national banks to a degree that is unsafe and dangerous. It is unwise to expect one who has power to bestow blessings on himself to practice self-denial for the public good.

Can it be possible, Mr. Chairman, that we must be forever forced to issue bonds and incur indebtedness to maintain the stability of the currency of this Government? This bill offers this and nothing more. What is the meaning of all the platforms that have been enacted in this country and the declarations in which we pledged ourselves to a sound and stable currency and financial system? Let me ask the gentlemen on the other side, what do you mean when you say that you want a sound financial system?

If I understand you correctly, if I understand the intent and meaning of your platform declarations and that of the Democratic party, it is that we want a system of finance in which gold, silver, and paper money of all characters shall circulate on a basis of parity and equality throughout the Government, every dollar being equal to every other dollar; a complete, self-supporting, and fixed system, to exist without imposing the burdens of a bonded indebtedness on the people to maintain it. If this be true, the bill fails to accomplish the purpose. It weakens the present erroneous financial system so far as the public interest is concerned. It brings the Republic as an humble suppliant at the feet of its bondholders and its national banks. [Applause.]

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. GRAFF. Mr. Chairman, I was greatly interested in the remarks of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. BERRY]. He was exceedingly liberal in the discussion of the monetary question and especially in his opinions regarding the ratio. I was particularly interested in watching him tear the halo off the ratio of 16 to 1 and to hear his declaration that he was not wedded by any means to the Chicago platform of 1896. I confess that I might have been more surprised had he not been one of many of the gentlemen from the other side of the Chamber who have in this debate showed their want of respect for the ratio fixed by the Chicago convention.

Indeed, it has been the exception in the course of one week's debate for the members upon the opposite side of this House to reassert their fealty to the ratio of 16 to 1. For the most part they have been silent upon that subject, when the very first section of this bill makes the question of the standard, and hence the ratio, to be adopted the most important subject before the House in the discussion of this bill. The gentleman from Kentucky asserts that he is not only not wedded to the Chicago platform of 1896, but proposes to wait for the declaration of the Democratic party in the next national convention of 1900, and proposes to stand on that, whatever it may be.

But, Mr. Chairman, I wish to say to the gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber that the American people are not to be trifled with in the consideration of the fundamental question that is before us, by the shifting attitude which they propose to occupy themselves in these matters. I am here this afternoon not for the purpose of adding to the information which has already been given as to the provisions of the bill so much as I am here to emphasize my distinct approval of every one of these features. [Applause on the Republican side.]

I come from a district which prior to 1894 and for twenty years previous to that had given Democratic pluralities ranging from 1,500 to 2,500, before the time when there was a fusion existing between the Republicans and Democrats and when the Populist vote in the district was in the neighborhood of 1,500. The campaign of 1894 was won in my district because the people demanded another change from existing conditions prevailing at that time. The campaigns of 1896 and 1898 were made chiefly on the money question, and it is principally for that reason that the great body of the intelligent people of my district drifted away from their associations with the Democratic party and into the Republican party; because of their desire for sound money and better business conditions than existed at that time.

It becomes me, therefore, Mr. Chairman, not to be silent upon this question when we are called upon to make permanent the prosperous conditions that are now prevailing in the country by ingrafting into the law the provisions which are drafted in the impending bill. From the foundation of our Government changes in our coinage and currency laws have been made with the utmost caution and only from time to time as the immediate exigencies of business demanded, and our system has been the evolution of the logic of events in our history rather than the plan of any man or body of men in any era of our development, and sometimes misled by temporary depression to resort to some degree of fiatism.

Still every change made has been hedged by some cautionary limitations, showing the disposition upon the part of statesmen of all times to disturb existing conditions as little as possible by this class of legislation. Conservatism has left its mark on our financial legislation far more deeply than our public utterances on the subject. Financial legislation can not be the direct means of creating wealth. Its legitimate function is to facilitate the transaction of business demanding to be consummated. Bad financial laws may, however, prevent a prosperity otherwise assured.

A good financial system, if involving a too radical change, may cause a serious disturbance to existing conditions that would work disastrous results. Such a vital and delicate relation to our business does our financial legislation bear to our business world. We have learned a truth—that the Government can not make a profit for itself out of the coinage of dollars or the printing of notes. As long as the Government undertakes to bear the burden of maintaining the standard of our money it must be the source of some expense.

The issue of money does not create wealth or of itself make business. We have sometimes imagined it did both at times when business was temporarily and artificially stimulated by the issue of cheap money in large quantities, but ultimately we have had to pay the penalty in the reaction and return to normal conditions. These are no longer merely expert opinions found only in works on political economy, but are vital truths popularly understood by the masses of the American people and learned by them in the hard school of experience. An anomalous situation, indeed, has presented itself in this debate.

Both sides of this Chamber are congratulating the country on the improved industrial conditions since 1896; it is sometimes grudgingly admitted by our Democratic friends on the other side of the Chamber, but local pride and facts combined have prompted each Democratic member to claim that a more than proportionate share of prosperity has been awarded to his district, presumably because of his piety, as, according to his claims in this debate, such prosperity was produced by the combined efforts of "Providence, natural causes, and the increased production of gold." Would we have had this influx of gold, upon which they join us in congratulations, if we had the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1? Ah, no! What proportion of credit is to be awarded each I do not know. From which conclusion, however, it logically follows that the Chicago platform is to be amended at least in one respect, and that is to give at least some slight recognition of Providence.

Some new scientific and political truths are to be promulgated by our friends of the other side: The way to add is to subtract; the way to multiply is to divide, and the way to continue a desirable business prosperity is to alter the political conditions and change the governmental policies under which that prosperity came and continued—to turn out the party which performs and put in the party which promises. If the people recognized the truth that the standard of our money should be based upon the bullion value of the metal constituting it and that there could not be concurrent circulation of two kinds of ultimate redemption money, excepting so long as the legal ratio was the same as the ratio of the bullion value of the respective coins, in the trying times of 1896, when the great end desired by all was to change the business conditions, how can it be expected in the next political battle of 1900 that they shall ignore these truths when the universal demand is that the present improved and improving conditions shall be preserved?

I never made a campaign in my life in which I did not give credit to the masses of the Democratic party for honesty and integrity of purpose. I believe if there ever was a campaign in all our history where both sides were equally honest and sincere

it was in the campaign of 1896, where they started with little whirlpools of discussion on street corners, composed of two men in the morning and wound up with five hundred or six hundred in the evening.

The American people gave their best thoughts, as a whole, involving general study upon the subject of the monetary question in 1896, and I believe that their judgment at that time, carefully and honestly made, was final and final for many years. What excuse will be given for the failure of the prophecies of Mr. Bryan, upon the faith in which was most nestly rested by his friends the gospel of disaster which the advent of McKinley and the gold standard was to produce? These prophecies were that we were to have, first, a constantly rising value of the dollar and a constantly downward tendency of the commodities which it purchased; second, a contraction of the volume of the currency, and third, a still more emphasized business depression and general idleness.

The challenge has repeatedly been made on the floor of this House by the Republican members for a denial from the other side of the failure of these prophecies. Yes, it has been demanded of the other side of the Chamber that the fulfillment of a single one of the prophecies be shown at this time. The only reply has been an admission of the failure in the general return of prosperity due, as claimed by them, to "Providence, natural causes, and the increased production and discovery of gold."

We Republicans do not object to being members of such an alliance and can, at least, say that no alibi can be established against us as a successful defense of the proposition that the Republican party is responsible for the present desirable conditions. We were there when the wondrous change took place. No candid man will claim that the direct cause of returning prosperity can be demonstrated like a problem in Euclid. Economic causes and effects are not so simple in their relations. Complex and various are, no doubt, the causes of the present splendid demand for the products of labor. Labor is employed. The conflict is not over employment, but wages. Agricultural products have an upward tendency. New manufacturing enterprises are being projected. Extension of loans is easily obtained. The volume of profitable American enterprises has burst the bounds of our own Republic and gone out upon the seas. We read in the Good Book that there was a man who had been blind from his birth who went to the Master, and He touched the man's eyes and restored his sight. The man who had been restored returned to his friends, and his friends got into a discussion among themselves as to whether the Master who had performed the cure was divine or not, and they turned to the man, and he said: "Whether He be a divine or no I know not; one thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see."

The people of this country will not disassociate and can not separate the administration of the Republican party from the present condition; and these conditions are not peculiar to any avenue of life, but are gradually spreading into every field of effort. I do not believe that the primary cause for this condition is the inauguration of the war and the victories and prestige which came to us as a result of it. The war has undoubtedly contributed to our commercial prestige by reason of the brilliant achievements on land and sea of our Army and Navy; but we have gone out with a sound public credit and have sought to do business with foreign nations upon the basis that we propose to demand the best money in the world and propose to obligate ourselves to pay the best money in the world.

There never was a time in the history of this country when there were as many thousands of people as there are now who do not classify themselves with any one political party. The campaign of 1896 was decided, not by partisans, but by patriots, and the result turned largely upon the vote of the independents, or men who had formerly not affiliated with the Republican party. There was a time when we could rally the people around a partisan standard for the sake of the name and traditions of the party; but even the Republican party, with its splendid achievements of the past, can not hope to win in the coming campaign of 1900 upon any other assurance than that we are able to preserve the existing conditions.

The statement of the gentleman from Kentucky that he proposes to abide by the next national Democratic platform, no matter what that may be, has excited the admiration of his colleagues, but it is not the present spirit in which the voters of this country propose to act, I apprehend, in the coming campaign. His position reminds me of a little story about a couple of gentlemen who were rival aspirants to the legislature in a backwoods county. They were of the same political faith and were upon the same platform, advocating their particular claims, and the question came up as to whether they would submit their differences to the party caucus. One of them, while making a speech advocating his own cause, was asked if he was willing to abide by the decision of the caucus and whether he was in favor of a caucus. He did not seem to comprehend what was meant by a caucus, but he was quite clear as to his position, for he said: "If the caucus is for me and my

friends, then me and my friends are for the caucus; but if the caucus is agen me and my friends, then me and my friends are agen the caucus." [Laughter.]

The issues of 1900, which are before us in this debate very largely, can not be dealt with thus flippantly. They involve all the best interests of the country. We owe the people of the United States something more than a safe administration founded on correct financial principles. We owe them the duty of ingrafting these principles in the law. We owe it as a matter of party faith. We owe it to fulfill the promise of the St. Louis platform that the existing standard shall be preserved. We owe it by the State platforms of the Republican party promulgated since that campaign, and by the public papers and utterances of the President of the United States. But we owe it by a greater obligation to the people of the United States that an assurance may be given that there shall be no disturbances of existing conditions by another prolonged uncertainty as to our currency and the standard.

We propose to give to the men who intend to project new enterprises the assurance that they may rest secure in the stipulated value of the currency until the Senate shall again become Democratic, which can not be for a space of eight years. That is a practical assurance which is of appreciable value to men who propose to have confidence enough to go out into the domain of the unknown and untried and invest their savings and earnings in new and novel enterprises, and so, I say, at the same time that it is the part of honor, the part of expediency, the part of party faith, and the part of business sagacity for us to pass this law just as it is.

I am glad that it is not sought to go into the domain of creating a new currency scheme and placing our currency upon a different basis; not that a better scheme might not be created, but because of the uncertainty of its operation, of the desire to have no serious disturbance to a condition which now meets every reasonable demand. It was much safer for the committee charged with that duty to give us a bill incorporating every essential promise and guaranty which the party had made, incorporated every essential which was necessary to give the people of the country who employed labor and launched new enterprises a feeling of security in the stability and the safety of the future. It is a most auspicious time for us to place our currency upon a sound basis by law, as it is now in fact. As shown by the report of the committee which formulated this bill, the following facts appear:

The net gold in the Treasury on the 2d day of October, 1899, was \$254,328,820. There is more gold in the United States now than ever before. The world's product of gold in 1898 was the greatest in history, and exceeded the product of 1897 by \$48,616,600, and of 1896 by \$85,177,000. The product of gold from the mines in the United States in 1898 was the greatest in the history of the country, exceeding the product of 1897 by \$7,100,000, and of 1896 by \$11,375,000. The output of gold, both of the world's product and the product from American mines, has increased annually since 1890. The output of silver for the same period has varied in different years, but its value per ounce has had a uniform tendency downward, declining to 59 cents per ounce in 1898, its lowest register.

The present conditions are most favorable and the time most opportune for the clear and unequivocal adoption of the gold standard. Prior to the year 1896 the gold standard had been legally adopted by the following countries, viz: Austria-Hungary, Brazil, British Honduras, Chile, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and Turkey, and since 1896 the gold standard has been adopted by Costa Rica, Japan, Peru, and Russia. The coinage of silver on private account was suspended (prior to 1896) by the United States, Belgium, France, Holland, Italy, Spain, India, Switzerland, Greece, and Venezuela, thus effectually, although not absolutely fixing their status as gold-standard countries.

While we have been for many years, and are now, upon the gold standard, yet the bill first provides that "the standard unit of value shall, as now, be the dollar, and shall consist of 25.8 grains of gold nine-tenths fine, or 23.22 grains of pure gold, being the one-tenth part of the eagle." Thus we have the matter placed beyond cavil. The bill, then, does not disturb the legal-tender qualities provided by existing law of the silver dollar, or of the subsidiary or minor coins, or of the paper currency of the United States, or the laws making national-bank notes receivable and payable for certain public debts and dues and obligations between the national banks.

The bill provides for a separate division of issue and redemption, to which is assigned all records and accounts relating to the issue, redemption, and exchange of the several kinds of United States money. There is now no provision, except most indirectly, for the minimum amount of reserved fund by existing law. The pending bill provides that the minimum amount of gold coin and bullion to constitute a reserve fund shall be equal to 25 per cent of the amounts, both of United States notes and Treasury notes, issued under the act of July 14, 1890, outstanding. There is a provision authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue bonds payable in gold coin, at a rate not exceeding 3 per cent per annum, payable in gold coin at the end of twenty years, but redeemable in gold coin, at the option of the United States, after one year, for the purpose of maintaining the gold reserve when necessary.

The bill authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to use the reserve fund in maintaining at all times the parity and equal value of every dollar issued or coined by the United States, and author-

izes the Secretary, at any time that he may deem necessary to maintain the parity and equal value of all the money of the United States, at his discretion to exchange gold coin for any other money issued or coined by the United States, meaning by this to include the silver dollar and silver certificates. This provision, however, as at present in the bill, authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to do so in his discretion and only when necessary.

The bill directs that all the United States notes and Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890, presented for redemption shall be redeemed in gold coin at the will of the holder, but that silver certificates presented for redemption shall be redeemed in accordance with the existing law. It also provides that the notes and certificates so redeemed or exchanged shall be held and constitute a part of said redemption fund, and shall not be withdrawn therefrom or disbursed except in exchange for an equivalent amount of the coin in which said notes or certificates were exchanged or redeemed, except as otherwise provided in the bill; and it is further provided in the bill in that connection that a transfer may be made, or exchange of currency from the redemption fund to the general fund, and in that way under the provisions of the bill, but in no other way, can the provision concerning the paying out of notes or certificates once redeemed for other than the same coin be accomplished.

The bill repeals the limit heretofore existing of \$50,000,000 as the maximum of subsidiary coin and fractional currency. So great has been the demand for additional subsidiary coin and fractional currency that the issue has been increased regardless of the law, and on September 30, 1899, the amount of this species of money exceeded the lawful limit by \$16,523,333. The United States notes and Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890, hereafter issued or reissued, shall be of such denominations, not less than \$1, as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, and silver certificates hereafter issued are to be only in denominations of \$1, \$2, and \$5.

These provisions of the bill are to meet the demands of the so-called "pocket trade" of the country and to render more difficult the collection of these bills, for the purpose of seeking to embarrass the Treasury of the United States by their presentation for redemption in large quantities. Existing law with regard to national-bank notes provides for the allowance of issue of only 90 per cent of the par value of the bonds deposited for their security. This bill permits the national banks to issue their notes to the full par value of the bonds so deposited, and removes the tax upon the circulation of national banks, and seeks to equalize it by placing a tax of 1 per cent upon the value of their franchises as measured by the aggregate amount of the capital, surplus, and undivided profits.

This, it is hoped, will induce a large number of national banks, who have not thought it profitable to take advantage of their authority to issue notes, to take advantage of the provisions of the bill and give to the people an increase of the volume of the currency without any deterioration in its safety. The bill also permits national banks with \$25,000 capital to organize in towns of 2,000 population, thus extending banking facilities to small towns. Armed with this record and with the practical results of our legislation before the people of the United States, we may safely approach the next great political conflict in 1900. [Applause.]

Mr. THAYER. Mr. Chairman, I regret exceedingly my inability to be in accord with what appears to be the prevailing opinion of my associates on this side of the House, sentiments which have been voiced by so many of the distinguished and learned gentlemen who upon this floor represent Democratic constituencies. But if I read aright the history of my party and the history of my country, my associates this day on the currency question do not express or reflect the true and patriotic sentiment of that party which has been written in indelible letters upon every page of its glorious history, through all these decades of its long, honorable, and patriotic career, namely, that the best currency, recognized as such the world over, was none too good for it. In this assertion I accept and reserve only the single instance of the great mistake of 1896, made, I confess, in the name and by a portion of that Democratic party which Jefferson founded, Jackson defended, and the illustrious Russell, of Massachusetts, sought to protect, even at the sacrifice of life itself.

Mr. Chairman, I believe if the single question of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 could be submitted to the Democratic voters of this country unconnected with any illustrious name or personality and free from all other political questions or suggestions, they would declare against it by an overwhelming majority. Further, Mr. Chairman, I believe the time has come—yes, and is long past—when the financial interests, the industrial interests, and the general business interests of this country should be relieved from this continuous and ever-present agitation of the silver question, which, at least for the past eight years, has been a greater menace and a greater injury to financial enterprises than all other things combined, hanging like a funeral pall over the general business prosperity of this country. These

interests are looking to us this hour for a final adjustment and settlement of this question, that they may not be forever disturbed by this "endless chain" of currency talk and currency agitation. The country knows that if this bill becomes the law of the land now, in all human probability it will remain the law for at least six years to come; and if for six years, I have such confidence in the practical workings of the gold standard for the good of the country that it will thereafter stand for all time. [Applause on the Republican side.]

But, Mr. Chairman, it ill becomes our friends across the aisle to take to themselves too much credit for the establishment of the gold standard at this time. The Republican party would never have dared to present this bill had not that little band of Democrats at Indianapolis in 1896 exhibiting a spirit of self-sacrifice never before witnessed in this Republic in times of peace, boldly and patriotically declared in convention assembled for the single gold standard, to the end that the glory and honor of the true and honest dollar of the fathers should not perish in our midst, but should be upheld and defended by the humble followers of the great founders of our political party, and this stand was taken at a time when the Republican party was consorting and coquetting with the pale-faced goddess of the silver mines, who, with her sweet voice and silver tongue, was entrancing many a doubting Thomas on the other side of this House, those being most susceptible to the winning ways of this charmer who came from districts which had been inoculated with the silver virus. If an avenging God should place the mark of Cain upon the forehead of every Republican who has openly espoused the silver cause, or, what is, in my opinion, worse still, secretly given aid and comfort to the silver goddess, many a gentleman on the other side of this House who this day seems so much at ease among his newly acquired friends on the monetary question would not dare at this moment to raise his hat above his brow.

And, sir, I am proud to know and to realize that the seed which a portion of the Democratic party sowed in 1896 took root, grew, and fructified for a glorious harvest, and that the party this day in power thereby has learned something, and, seeing the error of its ways, has become emboldened to cut from the cover and appear in the open, influenced in large measure thereto by the declaration for the single gold standard so boldly announced in 1896 by the little band of Democratic patriots whose influence has permeated the whole body politic on this question to such an extent that it is now deemed safe by the Republican party to accept and announce this Democratic doctrine, and with monumental assumption, so far as history will permit, to appropriate to itself exclusively the honor of establishing the gold standard.

Mr. Chairman, I yield to no man my allegiance to the principles and traditions of the Democratic party. I have been a Democrat all my life and my progenitors for three generations kept the faith, and I have been a Democrat in a State and in a county where it costs something and means something to be a consistent Democrat. We, through evil and good report, have kept the faith, and with each returning election have set the beacon light on the watchtowers of the old party, and it seems that some of the stragglers and skeddaddlers from the honest-money fold have been attracted by their lights and now that the shot and shell are heard no more, or, if heard at all, in the dim distance, out of range, are returning from their wandering to join those who have held the fort and borne the burden in the heat of the day. Of course I understand that they come at the eleventh hour, but they shall have their reward.

Again, I can not consider it a part of my duty to oppose a measure which is in direct line with my own views of all that is just and right, and is destined to confer a lasting benefit upon the country, simply because it is introduced and supported by gentlemen representing the Republican party.

These are some of the considerations, briefly and imperfectly stated, which control my actions; and entertaining these views, I should be false to myself, false to the traditions of my party, and false to the best interests of my country did I fail to support this bill. [Applause.]

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Chairman, if there is no other gentleman who desires to address the committee, I move that the committee rise.

The motion was agreed to.

The committee accordingly rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. HEPBURN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration the bill H. R. 1 and had come to no resolution thereon.

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to announce that the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. FARIS, will act as Speaker during the evening session.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE.

A message from the Senate, by Mr. PLATT, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment the following resolution:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That when

the two Houses adjourn on Wednesday, the 20th day of December, they stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Wednesday, January 3, 1900.

Also:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That there be printed of the report of the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, in addition to the usual number, 500 copies of the report proper, 500 copies of the report of the assistant inspector-general on the State homes, and 150 copies of the record of members for the use of the Home.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions; in which the concurrence of the House was requested:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to have a detailed examination made by the actual removal of the rock at the narrowest part of East River on the eastern side, at Ravenswood, Long Island, New York, at and near Ramey's cofferdam, for a distance of 1,200 to 1,500 feet, with a view to widening and deepening the channel at that part of the river to 60 feet of width and at least 15 feet of depth, with also an examination and estimate of cost for the whole work, including deepening the channel to 2½ feet at mean low water. The expenses incurred in pursuance of this resolution shall be defrayed from the balances available from previous appropriations for the improvement of the East River.

Also:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed for the use of the Bureau of American Republics 2,500 copies of the Annual Report of the Director of the Bureau of American Republics.

Also:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, authorized to print, in excess of 1,000 copies authorized by the act of January 12, 1895, 5,000 copies of the annual report of Maj. Gen. E. S. Otis, United States Volunteers, commanding the Department of the Pacific and Eighth Army Corps, and military governor in the Philippines, dated August 31, 1899, 1,000 copies for the use of the Senate, 2,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, and 2,000 copies for the use of the War Department.

SALARIES OF CONGRESSIONAL OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES FOR DECEMBER.

Mr. BULL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the following joint resolution.

Mr. DALZELL. Will the gentleman suspend a moment? Mr. Speaker, the Senate has just sent over a concurrent resolution—

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman from Pennsylvania will suspend, the gentleman from Rhode Island offers a resolution, which will be reported to the House.

The Clerk read as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 80) to pay the officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives their respective salaries for the month of December, 1899, on the 19th day of said month.

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House of Representatives be, and they are hereby, authorized and instructed to pay the officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives, including the Capitol police, their respective salaries for the month of December, 1899, on the 19th day of said month.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Rhode Island asks unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the resolution just reported. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The question was taken; and the resolution was agreed to.

ANNUAL REPORT OF MAJ. GEN. E. S. OTIS.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, the Senate has just sent over a concurrent resolution providing for the printing of additional copies of the report of General Otis. I ask that the resolution be read from the Clerk's desk.

The SPEAKER. If there be no objection, the Clerk will report the resolution.

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be, and is hereby, authorized to print in excess of the 1,000 copies authorized by the act of January 12, 1895, 5,000 copies of the annual report of Maj. Gen. E. S. Otis, United States Volunteers, commanding the Department of the Pacific and Eighth Army Corps, and military governor of the Philippines, dated August 31, 1899, 1,000 copies for the use of the Senate, 2,000 copies for the use of the House of Representatives, and 2,000 copies for the use of the War Department.

Mr. DALZELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that we may consider that resolution at the present time.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I would like to ask the gentleman as to the necessity for any haste about printing this before the committees are appointed.

Mr. DALZELL. The necessity for haste, as I am informed from the Printing Office, or through the Senate from the Printing Office, arises from the fact that the type is now set and that these additional copies may be printed now at very little additional expense, whereas if we do not print them now the type will have to be reset and it will cost considerable money. It is in the interest of economy, as I understand it.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The question was taken; and the resolution was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The hour of 5 o'clock having arrived, as fixed by the special order, the House will be in recess until 8 o'clock this evening.

The recess having expired, the House at 8 o'clock p. m. was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore [Mr. FARIS].

THE FINANCIAL BILL.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the order of the House for the session this evening, the House will now resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. HEPBURN] will please take the chair.

The House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, Mr. HEPBURN in the chair.

The CHAIRMAN. The House is now in Committee of the Whole for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 1, the financial bill.

Mr. JETT. Mr. Chairman, the short time allotted to me in this discussion will not enable me to express myself fully upon the provisions of the bill now under consideration. This measure was introduced upon the first day of this session, and a special order has been made for its consideration which provides for a sufficient time only for a brief discussion of its provisions.

This bill enacted into a law will be a law placed upon the Federal statutes that is a departure from the old established policy that has been in vogue in this country since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. It is a material departure from that financial policy that was mapped out by the fathers and by those who laid the foundation for this great American Republic.

I desire to confine myself simply to the bill under consideration, and will therefore read the first and second sections. The first section is as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the standard unit of value shall, as now, be the dollar, and shall consist of 25.8 grains of gold, nine-tenths fine, or 23.22 grains of pure gold, being the one-tenth part of the eagle.

That part of section 2 to which I desire to call the attention of this House is as follows:

That all interest-bearing obligations of the United States for the payment of money, now existing or hereafter to be entered into, and all United States notes and Treasury notes issued under the law of July 14, 1890, shall be deemed and held to be payable in the gold coin of the United States as defined in section 1 of this act; and all other obligations, public and private, for the payment of money shall be performed in conformity with the standard established in said section.

Mr. Chairman, it will be seen that by section 1 the gold dollar is made the standard for unity value, and by section 2 all the interest-bearing obligations of the United States, now existing or hereafter to be entered into, and all the United States notes, commonly called "greenbacks," and the Treasury notes shall be deemed and held to be payable in gold coin of the United States, and that all other obligations, both public and private, for the payment of money are to be performed in conformity with said second section, which means that they are to be paid in gold. These two sections of the bill show conclusively not only that it is a departure from the established and well-known policy of this Government, but it is antagonistic to the position that any great party has ever taken since the existence of this Republic. In and by this measure you are attempting to put the country absolutely on a gold basis in fact as well as in theory. You stand now committed to the policy of gold monometallism. In that memorable contest of 1896 you proclaimed that you were in favor of bimetalism to be brought about by international agreement. You as a party have now abandoned that position and declare yourselves as opposed to bimetalism in any form whatever.

When the present Administration came into power you were pledged to secure an international agreement for the coinage of silver, and a commission was appointed that traveled abroad to consult with the European nations concerning that subject; and it is charged that that was only a pretense upon the part of the Administration to carry out that pledge so adopted in the St. Louis platform. And as an evidence that the Administration was not sincere in this matter, it has been openly stated that while the commissioners so appointed were trying to secure such international agreement, the Secretary of the Treasury of this country was in a measure convincing foreign nations that were being consulted that it was only a pretense upon the part of the United States and not to be considered seriously by them.

Whilst you were pledged as a party to bring about legislation friendly to silver, you have, in fact, from the very day of the inauguration of the present Chief Executive, been flirting and courting with the money power and money interests of this country and gradually advancing to the position which you are now assuming.

You now claim that the country is demanding this character of legislation. From what source does it come? Does the demand come from the great mass of people who are engaged in agricultural pursuits? Does it come from that heroic and patriotic class of our citizens who are engaged in daily toil for the support of themselves and their families? Does it come from the citizenship of this country who are in moderate circumstances financially? My answer and my response is that it does not. If you have had a call from any source whatever, that call has been from that class who have amassed great fortunes to the detriment of others,

and who are dictating the affairs of government and have been doing so for the last few years, and from all outward appearances are controlling the present Federal Administration. Ah, gentlemen, in my humble judgment you are simply carrying out the pledges heretofore made; you have changed your position so abruptly on this great financial question not at the request or demand of the great body of the people, but at the solicitation of the moneyed interests and those who reap fortunes through the labor and toil of others. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

By this bill you change the existing terms of the contract; you provide that all obligations, both public and private, for the payment of money shall be performed in accordance with the provisions of this bill, which means that they shall be paid in gold and nothing but gold. You say to the people that all the contracts heretofore entered into shall now be paid in gold, whether that contract is a public obligation or private. You say that all contracts for the payment of money hereafter entered into shall be paid in gold, yet you know, and I know, that only a small part of the money with which the people do their business in this country is gold. If this is to be the law, you double the burden of the debtor class; instead of giving the debtor relief, you increase his burdens. By this legislation you are legislating in favor of the creditor class and in opposition to the debtor class, and when you proclaim upon the floor of this House that this legislation is demanded by the people of the United States you deceive yourselves, and I believe that you are deceiving your constituents, for your constituents are not demanding that the obligations into which they have heretofore entered shall be performed in any other manner other than by the terms of the obligation itself as entered into.

Mr. Chairman, these are not the only bad features of this bill. Its enactment into law, and its enforcement, means the withdrawal of the greenbacks, and that necessarily means a contraction of the currency. I find that the President in his recent message delivered to this House uses this language:

I repeat my former recommendations that a portion of the gold holdings shall be placed in a trust fund from which greenbacks shall be redeemed upon presentation, but when once redeemed shall not thereafter be paid out except for gold.

This is one way that the Republican party has for retiring the greenbacks, and the provisions of this bill are such that when the greenback is once redeemed it can not be paid out thereafter except for gold; and we all know what necessarily must follow, and that is, that it means an impounding of the greenbacks which are now circulating among the people to the amount of over \$340,000,000. Nor does it stop there; but it also means an impounding of the Treasury certificates and the silver dollars that are now in circulation, with the power and privilege given to the national banks to take the place of the people's money.

You make the United States notes and the Treasury notes and, in fact, the silver dollars all redeemable in gold. You provide further by this bill such legislation that places the power in the hands of the national banks to control the volume of money. This is legislation that is unjust to the people. This is legislation that is not demanded by the great mass of the people; it is legislation in favor of a class and against the interests of the masses, and the enactment of this bill will, and should, defeat you before the people. You misjudge that patriotic and industrious class of citizens who are engaged in the various avocations of life to gain a livelihood, and who are the real wealth producers of the land, when you think that you can force this character of legislation upon them without their resenting it. They will resent it, and I will resent it for them. [Great applause.]

In section 4 I find this provision:

That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain the gold reserve fund taken upon the books of the division of issue and redemption, as herein provided, and for this purpose he may from time to time transfer to such fund any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, or may exchange any of the funds in the division of issue and redemption for other funds which may be in the general fund of the Treasury, and in addition thereto he is hereby authorized to issue and sell, whenever in his judgment it is necessary to the maintenance of said reserve fund, bonds of the United States.

Here is unlimited power to issue bonds of the United States given to the Secretary of the Treasury. If this bill should become a law, it is so favorable to the great financial interests of this country that they could at any time within twenty-four hours force a bond issue; and by this section you are placing, without any restrictions whatever, upon the Secretary of the Treasury the right and authority at his discretion to issue bonds, and the Secretary of the Treasury is usually a man that is connected with the great banking institutions. Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to placing this power in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury, giving him the right, without any limitations whatever, to place an indebtedness over the heads of the people of this nation. It is unjust. It is class legislation, because it is legislation in the interest of the favored few and against the rights of the common people.

You provide in this measure for the payment of the interest as

well as the principal in gold of all the outstanding obligations and all those hereafter to be issued. At this time, according to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, the interest-bearing bonded indebtedness of the United States is \$1,046,000,000, all payable in coin, as that is now the terms of the obligation as the law exists to-day, but if this bill passes all these bonds will be payable in gold only, together with the interest thereon. And now, have you gentlemen occupying seats on that side of this Chamber stopped to think how much money by this legislation you are putting in the pockets of the bondholders?

When President Cleveland sold \$62,000,000 in bonds, before doing so, in a special message to Congress, he said that if authority was given to sell gold bonds instead of coin bonds on the sale of the \$62,000,000 of bonds there would be a gain of \$16,000,000. And on the same basis the making of the interest-bearing bonded indebtedness of the United States payable in gold, as provided in this proposed legislation, will mean a gain to the bondholders of over \$261,000,000, which follows that this great sum of money of over \$261,000,000 is to be taken from the pockets of the people by this proposed legislation and presented to the bondholders. You gentlemen on the Republican side of this House who profess and proclaim your friendship for the rights and interest of the people are here proposing to vote away more than \$261,000,000 of the people's money and gratuitously present it to the syndicate of bondholders and men who are only patriotic and have the interests and welfare of these United States at heart when they can plunder and bleed the nation.

How you can face your constituents and advocate a measure of this kind I am unable to understand. How you can vote and by so doing place upon the Federal statutes a law that not only takes from the people this vast sum of money heretofore mentioned but makes every obligation into which they may hereafter enter more burdensome and harder for them to meet and at the same time expect their support and respect I can not understand. You appear to be of the opinion that because you have the moneyed owners upon your side it is all you need. But I warn you, and warn you now, that I believe that the people of this country will rise up in their righteous indignation and sweep your party out of power for favoring this class of legislation. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, the fact is that the influences that are instrumental in securing this legislation are the same forces and same influences that begun a raid on the United States during the time of the war between the States. To be convinced of this fact it is only necessary to follow the history of the financial legislation from 1862 up to the present time. In February, 1862, the present greenback currency was created, and in this House at that time the bill passed making greenbacks a full legal tender. When this bill was presented to the Senate, a most formidable lobby, composed of the same class of people who are now clamoring for "national honor and public faith and public credit," were found knocking at the doors of the Senate, demanding an amendment to the bill as it passed the House. They wanted to insert this clause: "Except duties on imports and the interest on the public debt."

The bill was so amended in the Senate. By reason of this amendment the duties on imports and interest on the public debt necessarily had to be paid in gold. We were a great importing nation; money must be had to pay such imports; money must be had to pay the interest on the public debt. It could not be paid with the greenbacks by this amendment, and demand for gold was created. Speculators had cornered the gold, and in order to get the money with which to pay the interest on the public debt and the duties on imports we were compelled to apply to these men who had cornered gold for it. We all know the result. These men who held the gold demanded all the way from \$2 to \$2.85 in greenbacks for \$1 in gold; these same men taking the greenbacks purchased with gold at less than 40 cents on the dollar, and with the same greenbacks so purchased bought Government bonds at the full face value of the greenback, so that the bonds cost the gold gamblers less than 40 cents on the dollar in gold. I think the exact cost was 35 cents on the dollar in gold. These speculators and plunderers of the General Government now held that the bonds of the United States were "payable in lawful money." They desired to score another point, since they held the bonds of the United States that had cost them not to exceed 35 cents on the dollar. They then went to Congress, which was controlled by the Republican party, and demanded further legislation by which they could be again benefited.

In 1869, after the war was over and they had thoroughly gotten control of the Republican party, they clamored for the passage of what was called the "public credit strengthening act." In that way that act was passed and became a law, by which act all of these bonds payable in lawful money were declared to be payable in coin, which meant either gold or silver. These plunderers were not yet satisfied; they were still seeking legislation. They now had a law that provided that the obligations should be paid in coin. However, that, they thought, might be repealed, and they

were not willing to stop until they had the contract itself so read that the obligations of the Government were payable in coin.

In 1870, being afraid that the law of 1869 might be repealed, the same bondholders came and procured the passage of the "funding bill," which authorized them to have written in the face of the bond that it was payable in coin.

This, Mr. Chairman, is a part of the history of the financial legislation of this country; and when I say that the influences that are instrumental in securing this legislation are the same influences that began a raid upon the Treasury of the United States during the war between the States, I can refer to the history of the legislation upon this great question as abundance of evidence in proof of my assertion. Their appetites for greed sharpened with their success. Their schemes for spoliation were as yet incomplete, and three years after the refunding bill was adopted they procured the demonetization of silver, thus greatly enhancing the value of the holdings. These are the ghouls who feast and fatten off of the toils and burdens of others while they cry for "honesty and public faith and the sustaining of the national credit." This is the class who denounce the common people as anarchists and as villains, while they themselves are seeking to enact legislation that will enable them to violate the sacred contracts into which they have heretofore entered.

Now, a word to my Republican friends. If it was good to have the double standard heretofore—for you have placed yourselves upon record favoring it—what reason do you give upon the floor of this House or to the country that it is not good to have and sustain the money of the Constitution, gold and silver, at this time? There is not a man of you who has been in Congress for any considerable length of time but what has placed himself upon record in favor of both gold and silver as the basic money of this country. You have always maintained convictions to that effect until the assembling of your last national convention, in St. Louis, when that convention was controlled and dominated by the bondholders and bankers of the country.

In 1888 in your national convention you declared that—

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.

This declaration of your party platform was written by the gentleman who is to-day the President of the United States. You were striking at the Cleveland Administration—and I am not here to defend the Cleveland Administration upon that question—and the truth is that the McKinley Administration is following in the footsteps so closely of the Cleveland Administration that no one can discern the difference.

Again, in the national Republican platform of 1892 you said:

The American people from tradition and interest favor bimetalism, and the Republican party demands the use of gold and silver as money.

What a change in the convictions of the leaders of this great party! Were you honest and sincere when you made these declarations to the people? If you were, what reason are you giving to the people of this country for your sudden change of heart?

Again, in 1890, in a speech in this House of Representatives, the present Chief Executive on this subject said:

I am for the largest use of silver in the currency of the country. I would not dishonor it; I would give it equal credit and honor with gold. I would make no discrimination. I would utilize both metals as money and discredit neither. I want the double standard.

These are only a few of the declarations that men high up in the affairs of the Republican party have made favorable to the use of gold and silver as the standard money of the land.

Yea, you have changed your convictions, gentlemen, because of the fact that your party has been taken charge of, body and soul, and is controlled by the wealth of the country. Before I would surrender my convictions to the money power, before I would misrepresent that proud and patriotic people who commissioned me as their Representative in Congress, I would resign my seat as a member of this House.

You may pass this bill through this House—and I suppose you will on Monday next, because you have brought in the party lash and have driven into line those members whose judgment dictated to them that they ought to stand by the principles and declarations enunciated by their party heretofore—but, as sure as you do, I want to say to you as an humble member of this House that when you go before the people of this country and this question is fairly presented to them that, notwithstanding all of the coercing of the corporations and the money changers, you will be swept out of power, and instead of you maintaining a majority upon the floor of this House you will be in the minority. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, permit me to say that the Republican party is taking on British practices and British ideas.

The Republican party is standing for colonial colonization, for colonial possessions, and for that character of expansion that threatens the very foundations of the Republic itself, and takes on the appearances of an empire.

The Republican party is following in the footsteps of the British Empire on the financial question; you are in favor of adopting their monetary standard; you are following them in the suppression of human liberty, for now one of the most unrighteous and unholy wars is being waged by that Empire against a good and unoffensive people in the South African Republic.

You fail to sympathize with the Boers in the struggle for liberty in which they are now engaged. If you keep up at the rate you have been going, in a short time you will be in favor of an empire instead of a government with the power lodged in the hands of the people.

But, Mr. Chairman, there is going to be another hearing before the people. The line is now drawn, the gold monometallists upon the one side and all those who favor the money of the Constitution and of the fathers and the right of the people to rule upon the other.

In that contest at the head of the column will be the friend and champion of the rights of the people. He will be placed upon the declaration of principles enunciated at Chicago in 1896, with the declarations declaring against trusts, imperialism, and militarism, and in that contest we expect to elect that fearless and patriotic citizen, William Jennings Bryan, President of these United States. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. ALLEN of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, it is with a considerable degree of embarrassment that I stand before you this evening for the purpose of addressing this body for the ten minutes allotted to me with reference to the bill which is now pending for consideration.

I have heard, sir, the question of monopoly discussed in its various forms and phases during this discussion on the floor. I have heard monopoly condemned; I have heard monopoly censured and abused; and it seems to me that if there is anybody or any man who can take pride in monopoly at the present time it is a speaker on the floor of this House on this question, for a more perfect monopoly I have never seen in all of my experience. [Laughter.]

Mr. Chairman, I believe it to be my duty to the constituency whom I have the honor to represent on this floor to raise my voice, in common with the Democrats on this side of the Chamber, in opposition to the pending bill and to assert some reasons why I shall oppose it and why I shall cast my vote against it. And yet, sir, it is due to the country that there should be a fair, honest, and full discussion of the measure.

Why, then, do I oppose the bill? Because, Mr. Chairman, in my judgment it is a vicious measure and one which has no necessity back of it to authorize or warrant its enactment. I take as evidence of that fact the announcements and declarations made by gentlemen on the other side of the House themselves and the condition of the country which they say prevails to-day. We are told that there is a condition of universal prosperity. Why, then, seek to hamper it? I assume as evidence of the fact of that prosperity the declaration of the distinguished President of the United States who now occupies the White House, and will let him, in one of his public utterances, declare what is the condition of affairs now prevailing.

Let me read, sir, to you an extract from a speech made by Mr. McKinley at Vincennes, Ind., on the 11th day of October, 1899. He said then in part:

Our financial condition was never better than now. We have good money and plenty of it circulating as a medium of exchange. Banks may fail, fluctuations in prices come and go, but the money of the country remains always good, and when you have a dollar of it you know that dollar is worth 100 cents, because back of it is the Government of the States.

Not gold, as provided for in the pending bill; not the dollars taken from the hard earnings of the people, but because there is back of each dollar "the Government of the States," using the language of the President himself.

Further he says:

Not only have we prosperity, but we have patriotism, and what more do we want?

You have prosperity, you have patriotism, you have money circulating, every dollar of which is as good as any other dollar, and, Mr. Chairman, I ask gentlemen on the other side, What more do you want? [Applause on the Democratic side.]

You say that the gold standard has been in force since 1834. If not since that time, then some of you claim that it has been in force since 1853. If it was not, then some of you say it has been since 1873, when, by legislative enactment, you were determined to make it so. And yet you come here with an anomalous proposition—a paradoxical proposition, one which can not be justified under the conditions which you say exist—and ask the House of Representatives and the Congress of the United States to reenact a law which you claim is already in force and is now upon the statute books and of which the country can avail itself if it so desires. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

I ask you, sir, what is the necessity for that? There must be something behind all this, and, in my opinion, it is in part to make provision for a depletion of the Treasury that must of necessity

follow in the policy and practices of the Administration. It is not my purpose now, Mr. Chairman, to discuss the silver question, for I have not the time. I am not here to abuse men upon that side of the House for their views, but I am here, sir, in response to what I conscientiously and honestly believe to be right, and I am here to say that I believe this bill is opposed to the best interests of the whole people of this country. Why, sir, it absolutely retires from circulation a large part of the money of this country, every dollar of which is as good as gold, and substitutes for it a national banking currency, bought and purchased by the people and paid for in taxes imposed upon them. That money is to be retired, bound up in the vaults of the Treasury, or destroyed, as some gentlemen would have it, as suggested upon the other side, and its place taken by a currency issued upon taxation of the people for the purpose of maintaining the national banking system of this country. Not only that, Mr. Chairman, but I am especially opposed to that provision of the bill which is in these words—section 4, referring to the reserve fund, says:

Sec. 4. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain the gold reserve fund taken up on the books of the division of issue and redemption, as herein provided, and for this purpose he may from time to time transfer to such fund any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, or may exchange any of the funds in the division of issue and redemption for other funds which may be in the general fund of the Treasury, and in addition thereto he is hereby authorized to issue and sell, whenever in his judgment it is necessary to the maintenance of said reserve fund, bonds of the United States bearing interest at a rate not exceeding 3 per centum per annum, payable in gold coin at the end of twenty years, but redeemable in gold coin at the option of the United States after one year.

I am opposed, sir, to this Congress vesting the power in one man to say what the legislation of this country shall be with reference to the further issue of bonds. The power of taxation is an extraordinary power. It is necessary in all governments, but it is a power that should never be delegated by the sovereign people to any one man to exercise for them. This Congress has upon several occasions refused to grant that power upon the request of the President of the United States, and I say now, sir, to vest that power of Congress in one man, to give him the authority in his discretion to say whether or not bonds shall be issued, to say whether or not a further burden shall be placed upon the people, to say whether or not additional interest shall be paid by them, is something that should not be surrendered by this representative body to any individual.

Mr. Chairman, gentlemen upon the other side talk of prosperity. I am glad to meet them along that line. I say to you that the Democratic party, and I, as a member of that party, representing one of the proudest constituencies in this Union, representing, sir, I believe, the greatest agricultural district in the whole United States—I say to you that no people would welcome prosperity more than the Democratic party, or more than I as a representative of that party would welcome it. But, Mr. Chairman, if it be true that prosperity has come, if the farmers are thrifty, the manufacturers are prosperous, if the mining industries of this country are profitable, if every dollar of our currency is as good as every other dollar, if we are patriotic and if we have, in the language of the President, all that we want, I ask, why the necessity of this further legislation that places this great indebtedness upon the people of this country?

Mr. Chairman, I want to say to you that the farming interests of this country are the foundation of almost all its wealth. I want to say to you that prosperity has not come to them, according to the statistical report, as it has come to the manufacturing interests of this country. I want to say to you that the reports show that the exports of farm products of this country amount to 67 per cent of the total exports, and that there was a decrease of those exports in 1899 from those of 1898, and a relative decrease in the price per bushel of wheat grown by the farmers of this country in 1899 from that of 1898.

The prices of our great agricultural products are fixed by the price in the foreign market, and in that market there comes competition with the products of all the cheap labor of the world. Our home consumption of wheat and other products is drawn from a supply greatly in excess of the demand made by that consumption, so that we are compelled to find a foreign market in which to dispose of that surplus. The almost universal use of gold as the standard money throughout the world makes for it a demand by which its purchasing power is increased, and with the constantly increasing production that must necessarily follow from the opening up of the yet undeveloped great agricultural areas of the South and West there will inevitably come a decrease in the value of our products. If we are to adopt gold as the sole basis upon which the business of the country is to be conducted, we must procure a great portion of it from Europe, where we find a market for our surplus products, and by decreasing the volume of money, the value of our exported products would in the same ratio be decreased.

Mr. Chairman, this state of affairs is intensified by reason of the fact that by the tariff laws of this country we are precluded from exchanging our products for the manufactured products of those

countries in which we are compelled to sell, where we could purchase much cheaper than here, and are compelled to purchase a large portion of the necessities of life with from 50 to 100 per cent or more added thereto in the way of protection to those industries, and thereby the interests of the agricultural classes, the great farming interests of the country, are taxed to pay tribute to the protected manufacturing interests.

Mr. Chairman, I see that my time is about expired. I know that this bill will pass, but, sir, from the action of this House we will appeal to the people, confidently believing that in their verdict we will find vindication of the justice of our opposition. [Prolonged applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. JETT. I yield ten minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. SHEPPARD].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. SHEPPARD] is recognized for ten minutes.

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Chairman, the bill under consideration, from a logical analysis of it, means not only a purpose to fix the gold standard as the unit of value, but it means to turn over to the national banks of this country the volume of the money to be used by the people.

I have listened very carefully to the speeches that have been made, both pro and con, upon this subject, and especially the speech made by the distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. OVERSTREET] who introduced the bill, and I must say that from his standpoint he made a masterly speech. I refer to his speech because under existing circumstances he had ample opportunity to present not only the bill in its entirety, but the reasons that actuated the committee in their preparation and presentation of it.

It may be, Mr. Chairman, that I am unnecessarily, I will not say alarmed, but appalled. I can not support this measure. It provides:

That the standard unit of value shall, as now, be the dollar, and shall consist of 23.8 grains of gold, nine-tenths fine, or 23.22 grains of pure gold, being the one-tenth part of the eagle.

Section 2 of this bill provides:

That all interest-bearing obligations of the United States for the payment of money, now existing or hereafter to be entered into, and all United States notes and Treasury notes issued under the law of July 14, 1890, shall be deemed and held to be payable in the gold coin of the United States as defined in section 1 of this act; and all other obligations, public and private, for the payment of money shall be performed in conformity with the standard established in said section.

This section changes all contracts now payable in coin, both public and private, and makes them payable in gold. This is a violation of every sense of right and justice.

Section 3 provides:

That there be established in the Treasury Department, as a part of the office of the Treasurer of the United States, a division to be designated and known as the division of issue and redemption, to which shall be assigned, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may approve, all records and accounts relating to the issue, redemption, and exchange, as hereinafter provided, of the several kinds of United States money.

I quote so much of said section as shows the true purpose of this bill, which has for its object the surrender of the issuance of the currency into the hands of the corporation herein created, composed of the Secretary of the Treasury and the national bankers.

Is there no confidence to be placed in the pledges of political platforms? This inquiry is pertinent when we remember that in 1892 the Democratic party nominated Mr. Cleveland for President and the people were led to believe from that platform that the reform of the tariff was the great panacea for all ills; and after the people had heard the discussion upon that proposition, the result was that Mr. Cleveland was elected President of these United States. As soon as he was elected he swapped thumbs and called a special session of Congress, not for the purpose of giving to the country a reform tariff bill, but for the purpose of repealing what was known as the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act. During Mr. Cleveland's Administration, because of want of fidelity to the platform pledge that was made to the people, he succeeded in dividing the Democratic party into factions, and when he had served out his term we found the Democratic party throughout this country prostrate, bleeding from every pore from wounds inflicted by Mr. Cleveland and his associates.

In 1896 the Republican party made its platform, in which it declared for bimetallism through international agreement. The people listened to the arguments both pro and con, the Democratic party claiming that it would establish bimetallism alone without the aid of any country on the face of the earth. Mr. McKinley was elected. I will not undertake to discuss or to use any harsh language as to how he was elected, but he was elected on that question. What did he do? He swapped thumbs just as Mr. Cleveland did, and called a special session of Congress for the purpose of enacting a new tariff law, when that political monstrosity known as the Dingley tariff bill was born. May we not expect that history will again repeat itself next November?

Mr. Chairman, that was a bill that levied illegal and unjust

tribute upon the people in the interest of the dominant class. It was an act of political piracy. It was an act that was wrong in principle and pernicious in practice. The gentlemen on the other side of this Chamber, who are now the spokesmen of the Republican party, are not satisfied in deceiving the people by party platform pledges, but they dare to come here at the seat of their Government and boldly undertake to deceive them again by covering the true intent and purpose of this bill by calling it "A bill to define and fix the standard of value, to maintain the parity of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States, and for other purposes," when in truth and in fact the object and purpose of it is to turn over to the national banks the control of the currency. Why do not they say what they mean and mean what they say?

Born in the light of liberty and the love of law, consecrated by the blood of patriots and christened by the fires of battles, this Government ought to be the proudest, the grandest, and the purest on the face of this earth. And it would be but for greed and avarice and partisan politics.

The introduction of this bill, which was framed amid the glittering seductions of Atlantic City, begins the last act in the tragedy of a nation's shame. It is the most remarkable and humiliating scene every witnessed upon the stage of history. The actors have thrown off the mask and robes of international bimetallism. They have fallen like whining cowards before the colossus of gold. The proposed bill is but another step in the iniquitous system by which the Republicans are stripping from the American people their most essential right, a system which will establish a new feudalism, without chivalry and without sentiment.

Again the lords of the realm will assume the powers of Government, the most sacred and fundamental of which is the issuance of the country's currency. It is an idea as old as Aristotle, yet true as the latest demonstrations of Edison, that a nation's money is a nation's blood, for money is the universal means by which a nation's labor is distributed in the various forms of bread and raiment and all the other necessities of human existence. Now, it is an unquestioned principle that the quantity of currency is an elemental factor in the regulation of all values. Hence the function of coining money and issuing currency is the most delicate and the most fundamental prerogative of popular sovereignty. Have the Republicans forgotten that all the powers of sovereignty emanate from the people? Do they deny that the coinage of money and the issuance of currency are among the essential and universal elements of sovereignty? Do they not understand that the Government at Washington is the only tangible expression of American sovereignty? Then why do they attempt to transfer the most basic element of Government from the mints to the millionaires? Why is it that they desire to change the seat of government from the buildings of the people to the banks of individuals? They would farm out the currency and place the money of the people under the control of individuals. As long as national banks retain the function of issuing money the dearest right and the most essential liberty of the American people will be desecrated and disgraced. The present bill extends the powers of national banks; it divorces entirely the functions of issuing currency from the Government and completes the scheme for the spoliation of the people.

This bill proposes under the cover to establish the gold standard, to perpetuate national banks as banks of issue, to surrender to the national banks and the Secretary of the Treasury complete control of the issuance of our currency, thereby creating by law a partnership between the Secretary of the Treasury and the wealthy few of our people. Not only this, but this bill, so far as it applies to national banks, is more objectionable than the present national banking law. I hope that the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. OVERSTREET] and the other gentlemen who control this bill will place such restrictions upon the issue of national banks to the end that a bank once organized could not increase or diminish its notes. We are powerless under the rules to amend this bill or to offer a substitute.

As the law stands now those that are engaged in the national banking business can not withdraw all their notes from circulation. There are some restrictions which prevent them in a measure from contracting and inflating their notes at will. When this bill becomes a law, as it surely will, because the Republican party has the power to enact into a law and its representatives are here for that purpose, the national banks will be clothed with so much power over the currency of this country that they will be enabled to create a financial panic within twenty-four hours should it suit their pleasure so to do. Knowing and believing this as I do, I can readily understand why it was that Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic party, said that national banks as banks of issue were more dangerous to the liberties of the people than large standing armies. I am not opposed to national bankers as individuals, because I know that there are many great and good men engaged in that business, but it is the power of issuing any kind of money, be it called credit money or whatever it may, that I oppose. It is a special privilege, a special power, given to them by law, which they ought not to exercise.

Section 4 of this bill reads as follows:

That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain the gold reserve fund taken up on the books of the division of issue and redemption, as herein provided, and for this purpose he may from time to time transfer to such fund any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, or may exchange any of the funds in the division of issue and redemption for other funds which may be in the general fund of the Treasury, and in addition thereto he is hereby authorized to issue and sell, whenever in his judgment it is necessary to the maintenance of said reserve fund, bonds of the United States bearing interest at a rate not exceeding 3 per cent per annum, payable in gold coin at the end of twenty years, but redeemable in gold coin at the option of the United States after one year.

This is too much power to confide in any one man. Under the provisions of this bill the Secretary of the Treasury can issue one million or ten billions of bonds payable in gold, whenever in his judgment it is necessary to the maintenance of the reserve fund as provided by this act. This is unwise and unjust and dangerous legislation.

I want to say in conclusion that the gentlemen on the other side of this Chamber seem to forget that bonds are chains; and chains are onerous and galling, notwithstanding they be chains of gold. I can hear the clanking of these gold chains as they are now being forged by the national banks in the East with which to bind us hand and foot, and you gentlemen are their henchmen to rivet them on both hands and feet of the American people. I stand up in my place and defy you to do your worst. There will come a time when the people will be able to rise up as one man and break these shackles from their limbs and set themselves free. [Prolonged applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. WILLIAM E. WILLIAMS. Mr. Chairman, I would not attempt to discuss this question in the brief time allotted to me if I did not feel that it was a matter of great importance to my constituents as well as to the public at large. I do not say this complainingly, for I know that new members are not entitled to the privileges accorded to those of long service and that in the discussion of all questions those members long in service in this House have a decided advantage over those of less experience. I fully appreciate the recognition shown me and will avail of my time to the best advantage.

I feel that this bill is fraught with more of weal or woe for mankind than any legislation that has been proposed in a third of a century. It has already been suggested in this debate many times that no party has ever previous to this time declared in favor of the gold standard. In 1896 the Democratic party declared in favor of independent bimetalism; the Republican party declared in favor of international bimetalism; the Populist party and the Silver party for independent bimetalism. The only party which ever declared openly for a gold standard was that little handful of so-called Democrats that met at Indianapolis, the home of the progenitor of this bill, and nominated that ancient and acrobatic statesman of Illinois, John M. Palmer, for the Presidency. [Laughter and applause.] Not only has no party declared for it, but at no time in the history of this country or of the world has any people been called upon to approve or indorse or to graft upon themselves a gold standard.

The purpose of this bill is to fasten and rivet the gold standard upon us without the sanction of the people, and then, next year, before its evil effects fully manifest themselves and are realized in all their dire consequences, ask an approval and ratification by the people at the polls. It was attempted in 1875 to adopt the gold standard without discussion, when, in pursuance of an European conspiracy, a bill was smuggled through Congress and the approval of the President secured without his knowledge of the contents of the bill, and now, in line with the same reprehensible conduct, and characteristic of the same party that enacted that law, we find this bill attempted in almost the same way. There was no demand arising from the people, no platform declarations in the Congressional election of any party last year, no warning and no notice to the public, and yet a self-constituted committee met at Atlantic City, where they held conference with the presidents of banks and banking syndicates and drafted this bill in accordance with the exactions of the men who furnished the Republican campaign fund three years ago.

It then went into a secret vault and never saw the light of day until last week, when it was presented to the consideration of this House without having been published to the country for the consideration, approval, or criticism of the people. They not only introduced it in an informal manner, not referring it to any committee, as is the usual and customary and proper procedure, but they undertook by the operation of the Committee on Rules to deprive the representatives of the people from adequate preparation and the proper discussion of the question at any length on the floor of the House. They now ask to impose the law upon the people without opportunity for amendment here and without awaiting popular expression of resentment or approval, and before public sentiment can become aroused to the danger that is threatened and the weak-kneed, who have been corralled like so many cattle, can be influenced by the muttering of the coming storm to vote against it. [Applause.]

In the discussion of this question, Mr. Chairman, I do not feel

called upon to defend the Chicago platform, if any defense is necessary. I stand upon that platform and the party is committed to it, but this bill does not present the issues presented in the campaign of that year. Any patriotic American citizen, no matter whether he then favored independent or international bimetalism, no matter whether he voted for McKinley or Bryan, can consistently and ought to vote against this bill. When they say the question was discussed then, and that we ought to be prepared to meet it now, I reply to the gentlemen that the issues presented by this bill were not presented by the platforms adopted in 1896. We discussed bimetalism then, which was the creed of the Democratic party and the slogan of the Republican party. The Democratic party said, "We want independent bimetalism," and the Republican party said, "We want international bimetalism and pledge ourselves to promote it." We then warned the people from every stump that the pretensions of the Republican party in favor of bimetalism were not sincere, that they were hiding behind a mask, and that if McKinley should be elected the gold standard would be adopted and no good-faith effort made to promote international bimetalism, and we now point to this gratuitous and audacious attempt as proof of our predictions and a fulfillment of our prophecy. [Applause.]

One other point, Mr. Chairman, before presenting some of the objections which I wish to urge to this bill is the concession made by gentlemen upon the other side that the quantity of money in circulation has much to do with regulating prices. Why, it has been boasted by these gentlemen that since the election of 1896 and the inauguration of McKinley \$385,000,000 has been added to the circulation, and they claim that prosperity is due in a measure to that increase of money, and that by reason of the increased production of gold the free coinage of silver becomes unnecessary. So much, then, for the quantitative theory of money, which I have not time to discuss within the limit assigned me. It is in effect conceded and eliminates much controversy and contention. [Applause.]

If prosperity has come, as is contended, it came under the same system and under the same financial policy that precipitated the panic of 1893. But let me say that whatever may be the improved condition of the times, they are traceable to other causes. The increased demand for the product of the farm and factory to equip and sustain large armies for the Spanish and Philippine wars, the conversion of 100,000 men from producers to consumers in the field, has produced a legitimate increase in the price of product and labor. Then, again, prices, in many instances, of the products of factories have been marked up by the great trusts and combinations formed and encouraged under the McKinley-Hanna Administration. I have not the time to discuss trusts here, but while passing wish to say they are the creatures of Republican class legislation. I fear that there is no real and abiding prosperity; that times have improved from temporary causes only.

I have no time to discuss that question now; but, Mr. Chairman, for the purposes of this argument I am willing to concede that there is a period of unusual prosperity prevailing, particularly in the moneyed and commercial centers and in other portions of the country which have been blessed by abundant harvests. If so, there is less reason for disturbing these conditions by a change in our financial policy. The motto "Let well enough alone" can be invoked with profit here. [Applause.]

Briefly stated, my reasons for opposing the bill are these:

First. It makes no provision for the coinage of the silver dollar, and, as I understand the law, since the repeal of the Sherman Act there is no provision for the coinage of the silver dollar in any existing law, and no provision in the proposed law for its coinage except for the coinage of fractional or subsidiary coin, as already embodied in the existing law. [Applause.]

Silver by this bill becomes directly redeemable in gold and ceases to be basic money. Heretofore it has not been redeemable by law, and has constituted a part of the actual money of the country. We have had since 1878 an anomalous financial system—a kind of quasi bimetalism—and silver has never heretofore been wholly discarded as actual money or reduced to the rank of credit or token money until now, when it is contemplated by the provision of this bill to make it redeemable—even worse than that, it is proposed, and little or no attempt is made to disguise it, to redeem, retire, and drive out of existence the "dollar of our daddies." [Applause.] We rejoice with our friends across the aisle in the new discovery and increased production of gold—we are not hostile to the yellow metal—and if there should be an adequate production of gold for the use of the civilized world for the purposes of basic money there would be no demand for the use of silver as money, and we would yield our contention.

The mere fact that this bill authorizes increased issue of bank currency is of itself an admission that there is not gold enough to answer the demand for money. But with the whole world engaged in a mighty struggle for gold and issuing gold bonds to maintain a supply; with a war barely averted between England and Venezuela only recently by reason of a British attempt to shift her boundary line to encompass and steal a gold mine from a

country helpless without the intervention of a friendly nation; with a disputed Alaskan boundary line between our own country and the same avaricious nation by reason of the rich gold finds along the border; with a deplorable war now raging in the Transvaal between Boer and Britain, for which England can give but one excuse, and that a wicked design to seize and hold the reef of gold in that far-away country—rich beyond the dreams of avarice—for which she would blot out civilization forever and turn back the hands of time a hundred years; with such greed and such desperation, why should we strike down our own fair product and enter into the arena of conflict, into an unseemly and mercenary gold-grabbing scramble, with the other nations of the earth?

And, by the way, Mr. Chairman, I desire to express my disapprobation of England's attempt to subjugate that sturdy yeomanry. I rejoice in the Dutch victories, and, commingling my prayers with those of the dying martyrs and living heroes of that sunny land, I invoke the spirit of freedom, of devotion, and self-sacrifice, the love of country and home and fireside, the courage, the conviction, and the patriotism that inspired the fathers of our own Revolution, who struggled, endured, and died, with the same gold-fueled, merciless, and mercenary foe, for the freedom of our beloved, our native land. [Applause.]

Second. I object to the bill because it provides for the retirement of the greenbacks as well as the silver dollar and will operate to contract the currency to that extent. This is, no doubt, the object and purpose of the bill, but it was proclaimed the other day by some gentlemen on the floor, in the course of this discussion, that it will not have that effect, for the reason assigned that when the silver or greenback dollar is retired the gold dollar given out in exchange will go out to take the place of the retired dollar.

But, Mr. Chairman, gentlemen forget that that gold dollar in the first place was taken out of circulation; let me say, was extorted from the people; and the gold dollar which is paid out of the Treasury to redeem the silver or greenback dollar, as the case may be, may find its way, during the course of a day, back into the Treasury, ready to redeem another greenback or silver dollar, and so on from day to day, so that one dollar in the course of a year may redeem many hundreds of dollars, and in the course of time a small amount of gold can redeem every greenback and silver dollar outstanding and thus contract the volume of the currency to that extent. It is claimed that the silver and greenback may be paid out again for gold and in that way find their way back into circulation. But such is not the purpose of the bill, and I apprehend that the banks and financial sharks who horde and corner the gold and are, as we all know, unfriendly and inimical to silver and paper money will never give up a dollar in gold to redeem or to take out of hock a single greenback or silver dollar. Hence I say that when once redeemed the people's money will be consigned to its long home, to its final resting place, never again to come forth to cheer the hope, to gladden the heart, or to replenish the purse of the people. [Applause.]

Third. I object to the bill because it impairs the obligation of existing contracts in favor of the creditor and against the debtor, and makes a new obligation which has not heretofore been embodied in the contracts of the Government. It makes the bonds of the Government payable in gold coin, contrary to the express declaration which they bear upon their face. [Applause.] Congress refused to make the bonds when issued payable in gold coin, and they were placed upon the market with the full knowledge that they were payable in coin, gold or silver, at the option of the Government. It was represented by the bond speculators that the bonds could be floated at a much greater premium if made payable in gold, but Congress refused. They were sold on the basis of coin bonds, payable either in silver or gold, and at a profit to the holder, who now comes to the front to exact his pound of flesh in return for his campaign contribution and demands legislation for the payment of his bonds in gold, contrary to the letter, the spirit, and the intent of his contract. Mr. Chairman, such a demand is monstrous, and if enacted into law, if an indignant people do not rise up and visit retribution upon the offenders a just and righteous God will. [Applause.]

Fourth. It places a dangerous power in the hand of the Treasurer of the United States. That question has been already ably and logically discussed upon this floor. Mr. Chairman, it places more power in the hands of an individual than has ever been given a public officer since the Government of the United States began. The exclusive and absolute right to issue bonds at will is a dangerous power. It is a power that should never be intrusted to one person. It is a power that should be lodged solely in the Congress of the United States; in the hands of the people's representatives. [Applause.] Why this extraordinary delegation of power? Is it because Congress can not always—when Democratic—be relied upon to truckle to the demands of the money changers, the gilded magnates, and the bank trusts? Or is it because the Republican party, which was never known to betray a "trust," is faithfully keeping its pledges made to the money barons three years ago when such tremendous contributions were made to the Hanna

corruption campaign fund? When this power is conferred the national banks, which can corner the gold at their own sweet will, and with full power to contract or expand the bank currency at the bidding of the bank trust, can drain the Treasury of gold, exhaust the reserve fund, and force an issue of bonds whenever it is desired to increase and multiply the national banks and extend their influence until their omnipotence is supreme and the people, bound hand and foot, become abject slaves, without remedy save that of revolution. [Applause.]

The fifth and last reason which I have time to specifically assign in opposition to this bill is that it creates a bank trust and places the issue and redemption and volume of our money helplessly in the hands and subject to the absolute control of the national banks. The power to issue money is a constitutional function of government and ought not and can not safely be delegated. Experience has taught us that banking institutions and financial concerns worship a mercenary god and are prompted in all their dealings by greed and avarice. Such a surrender of the people's birthright is a sad spectacle; it is pitiable indeed. The dire prophecy so often made is about to be fulfilled and the political fortunes of our country given over in abject and helpless submission to a band of conspirators—a lot of remorseless cormorants who have fed and fattened on the public and contributed of their ill-gotten gain to the corruption of public morals, to the seduction of the citizen voter, and to the destruction of those bulwarks of human liberty which vouchsafe free institutions, American manhood, American freedom, and American progress [applause], and now come with the audacity of his satanic majesty and exact merciless and extortionate compliance with the letter of their bond. The future alone can disclose the awful consequences of this iniquitous bill, for the responsibility of which I trust no Democrat will have to answer to his people or to his God. [Great applause.]

Gentlemen upon the other side of the Chamber have expressed great solicitude for the future of the Democratic party, and have deluged us with prophetic warnings as to the consequences of our action here. Let me say to our friends across the isle that they can better afford to concern themselves about their own political future. I warn them now if they pass this bill, if they fasten upon these people a gold standard without their authority and without their sanction, when the battle is fought and the victory won next November the news will go beyond hill and dale, across the prairies and the great father of waters, over the plains and the mountain peaks, around the world, announcing the glad tidings that the cause of Democracy has triumphed; that the will of the people is supreme. [Prolonged applause.]

Mr. McLAIN. Mr. Chairman, in the very beginning of my remarks I wish to say that the extraordinary methods adopted by the party in power in forcing this bill upon the House, without even referring it to a committee, has thereby debarred me from giving that care and time upon the preparation of my remarks that this occasion demands. But I have not allowed considerations of this character to prevent me from giving public expressions on the floor of this House to my opposition to the pending bill. When one contemplates fairly and impartially this great question for us to decide, he is reminded that a great responsibility rests with him. I have the past few days listened with much pleasure to this great debate. I feel sure I can not throw any additional light upon it. But I owe it to myself and to my constituents to thus raise my voice against its passage.

Again and again this question under consideration has been discussed in this House on former occasions. From every stump in this land the best orators of our day have crossed swords upon this issue. It has been an issue in one of our Presidential campaigns, in which we as a party went down in defeat. But with all that, Mr. Chairman, I am one of those who have not lost heart. Trusting in the supreme justice of our cause, I firmly believe that in the grand sweep of things a great success will be our reward. It is true the greatest test of courage is to bear defeat without losing heart. Our cause is just. Our hearts are full of cheer. For the right of the people we will faithfully contend, believing that right, honestly and persistently pressed, has a passport to victory sooner or later.

Mr. Chairman, the question under consideration is a great and momentous one. It is overtopped by none other, not even by trusts, nor by expansion and imperialism. It is a radical departure, pregnant with evil, which some day will prove a curse to this country. Unmindful of party creed, the American people all over this land are watching this Congress. They feel and know that no graver problems ever confronted an American Congress for solution than meet this one at its very threshold. Among these problems for solution is this one. It is hoped by them, when we have acted on this one, along with the other great and new problems, that it may be so executed that they may gather fresh inspiration in the stability of our Government and in the cause of human freedom. Our duty can well be performed if we are simply honest, intelligent, and patriotic. If we earnestly desire to

hand over to our country an increased legacy of power and glory, we must so act. In so doing, intelligence, justice, and prosperity will continue with increased force to dwell in our land.

Mr. Chairman, the position, aim, and design of the Republican party as voiced in this bill is absolutely startling; it is bold; it is defiant. I think it can be truthfully denominated as a bill in the interest of bondholders. It is practically turning the financial system of the Government into the hands of the money power of the country. This bill has not only their hearty cooperation, but they are the power behind the throne. To fasten the gold standard upon the country is their aim. This bill, if passed, will accomplish that for them. They are clamoring for it. Solemnly do they echo in tones of commanding confidence, one to another, the cry of "sound money," "honest money." They cry out aloud to those who are under obligations to them, We must have it now, right now. In response to this demand all other business is laid aside by this House. Yea, all precedents are violated to railroad this pet measure of theirs through this House. If the bondholders of this country had prepared this bill, could it have been made stronger in their interest? Right here let me read a part of the bill. Sections 2 and 4 read as follows:

SEC. 2. That all interest-bearing obligations of the United States for the payment of money, now existing or hereafter to be entered into, and all United States notes and Treasury notes issued under the law of July 14, 1890, shall be deemed and held to be payable in the gold coin of the United States as defined in section 1 of this act; and all other obligations, public and private, for the payment of money shall be performed in conformity with the standard established in said section. Nothing herein contained shall be construed or held to affect the present legal-tender quality of the silver dollar, or of the subsidiary or minor coins, or of the paper currency of the United States, or the laws making national bank notes receivable and payable for certain public debts and dues and obligations between national banks.

SEC. 4. That it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain the gold reserve fund taken up on the books of the division of issue and redemption as herein provided, and for this purpose he may from time to time transfer to such fund any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, or may exchange any of the funds in the division of issue and redemption for other funds which may be in the general fund of the Treasury, and in addition thereto he is hereby authorized to issue and sell, whenever in his judgment it is necessary to the maintenance of said reserve fund, bonds of the United States bearing interest at a rate not exceeding 3 per cent per annum, payable in gold coin at the end of twenty years, but redeemable in gold coin at the option of the United States after one year. But no transfer shall at any time be made from the general fund of the Treasury to the division of issue and redemption which will reduce the general fund below \$30,000,000. That all United States notes and Treasury notes issued under the act of July 14, 1890, presented for redemption shall be redeemed in gold coin at the will of the holder, and all silver certificates presented for redemption shall be redeemed in accordance with existing law.

The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and required to use said reserve fund in maintaining at all times the parity and equal value of every dollar issued or coined by the Government, and if at any time the Secretary of the Treasury deems it necessary in order to maintain the parity and equal value of all the money of the United States he may, at his discretion, exchange gold coin for any other money issued or coined by the United States. The notes and certificates so redeemed or exchanged shall be held in and constitute a part of said redemption fund and shall not be withdrawn therefrom nor disbursed except in exchange for an equivalent amount of the coin in which said notes or certificates were redeemed or exchanged, except as hereinafter in this section provided. Nothing in this act shall be construed as repealing that provision of the act approved July 14, 1890, which provides that "no greater or less amount of such notes shall be outstanding at any time than the cost of the silver bullion and the standard silver dollars coined therefrom then held in the Treasury purchased by such notes."

Mr. Chairman, I have not the time to discuss these sections of the bill in all of their bearings. See what extraordinary power it gives to the Secretary of the Treasury! It makes all bonds payable in gold! In all of its provisions it thirsts for gold! It writes gold into all interest-bearing obligations of the United States for the payment of money, now existing or hereafter to be entered into, and all United States Treasury notes are payable in gold; and all obligations, public and private, for the payment of money are to be paid in gold. It places in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury full and complete authority to issue and sell, whenever in his judgment it is necessary to the maintenance of the reserve fund, the bonds, and interest and principal are payable in gold. He is especially charged to use the reserve fund in maintaining at all times the parity and equal value of every dollar issued or coined by the Government.

It further provides that if at any time the Secretary of the Treasury deems it necessary in order to maintain the parity and equal value of all the money of the United States he may, at his discretion, exchange gold coin for any other money issued by the Government. It is permissible to national banks to issue notes to the full amount of their bond deposit without any additional security. Such are some of the sweeping and drastic measures in this bill, the ultimate object of which is to bind the country to the gold standard, thereby inflicting a cruel wrong on it, seeking to enslave the people.

This law is not needed. The people have not demanded it. When its unjust and I might say cruel provisions are thoroughly understood by the people, they will repudiate it and hurl from power the party that enacted it. From the signs I see around me, this bill will be passed; but that will not quiet the discussion on this great question. The more it is discussed, the plainer it will appear to the people that it has the appearance of legalized robbery.

Mr. Chairman, in support of this measure much has been said about the prosperity in our land. I admit that times are better. I will admit that labor finds ready employment, and I pray to God that it may not only remain with us, but go on and on, growing brighter and better as the months and years roll round. It is loudly heralded abroad that this is an evidence, an object lesson, that bimetallism is wrong and the gold standard is right. We are taunted with this. Who brought around better times? Was it the Republican party? Was it the gold standard? No. One reason is that within the last few years the money volume has been increased to an unprecedented extent, and in a manner and way that no one saw or reasonably expected. It came not by the bidding or through the instrumentality of any party or statutory law.

Nature has responded copiously to the toiler of the mines. In 1898 the production of gold was the greatest in the history of the world by many millions. That we may get a clear conception of what I am trying to impress, let me briefly surround myself with all the facts, or rather data, in reference to the production of gold and silver within the last hundred years in the world. At the risk of being tedious I herewith submit the following table, which speaks for itself. This table was incorporated in the remarks of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. OVERSTREET]. I find it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of December 12, from which I take this:

Product of gold and silver in the world since 1800.

[The annual production of 1860 to 1872 is obtained from five-year period estimates, compiled by Dr. Adolph Soetbeer. Since 1872 the estimates are those of the Bureau of the Mint.]

Calendar year.	Gold.		Silver.		
	Fine ounces.	Value.	Fine ounces.	Commercial value.	Coining value.
1800	6,486,262	\$134,083,000	29,095,428	\$39,337,000	\$37,618,000
1801	5,949,582	122,989,000	35,401,972	46,191,000	45,772,000
1802	5,949,582	122,989,000	35,401,972	47,651,000	45,772,000
1803	5,949,582	122,989,000	35,401,972	47,616,000	45,772,000
1804	5,949,582	122,989,000	35,401,972	47,616,000	45,772,000
1805	5,949,582	122,989,000	35,401,972	47,338,000	45,772,000
1806	6,270,086	129,614,000	43,051,583	57,646,000	55,663,000
1807	6,270,086	129,614,000	43,051,583	57,173,000	55,663,000
1808	6,270,086	129,614,000	43,051,583	57,096,000	55,663,000
1809	6,270,086	129,614,000	43,051,583	57,043,000	55,663,000
1810	6,270,086	129,614,000	43,051,583	57,173,000	55,663,000
1811	5,501,014	115,577,000	63,317,014	83,958,000	81,884,000
1812	5,501,014	115,577,000	63,317,014	83,705,000	81,884,000
Total..	78,766,630	1,628,252,000	547,997,231	729,563,000	708,521,000
1873	4,653,675	96,200,000	63,267,187	82,120,800	81,800,000
1874	4,300,031	90,750,000	55,300,781	70,674,400	71,500,000
1875	4,716,563	97,500,000	62,261,719	77,578,100	80,500,000
1876	5,016,488	103,700,000	67,753,125	78,322,600	87,600,000
1877	5,512,196	113,947,200	62,679,916	75,278,800	81,040,700
1878	5,761,114	119,092,800	73,385,451	84,540,000	94,882,200
1879	5,262,174	108,778,400	74,383,495	83,532,700	93,172,600
1880	5,148,880	106,436,800	74,795,273	85,640,600	93,705,000
1881	4,938,742	103,023,100	79,020,872	89,925,700	102,168,400
1882	4,934,086	101,995,600	86,472,691	98,232,300	111,802,300
1883	4,614,588	95,302,000	89,175,023	98,934,300	115,297,000
1884	4,921,139	101,729,600	81,567,801	90,785,000	105,461,400
1885	5,245,572	108,435,600	91,609,959	97,518,800	118,445,200
1886	5,135,679	106,163,900	93,297,290	92,793,500	120,626,800
1887	5,116,861	105,774,900	96,123,536	94,031,000	124,261,000
1888	5,330,775	110,196,900	108,827,606	102,185,900	140,706,400
1889	5,973,790	123,489,200	120,213,611	112,414,100	155,427,700
1890	5,749,306	118,848,700	126,936,062	131,937,000	163,032,000
1891	6,320,194	130,650,000	137,170,919	135,500,200	177,352,300
1892	7,094,295	146,651,500	153,151,762	138,404,400	198,014,400
1893	7,618,811	157,494,800	165,472,621	129,119,900	213,944,400
1894	8,764,362	181,175,600	164,610,394	104,493,000	212,829,600
1895	9,615,190	198,763,600	167,500,960	109,545,600	216,569,900
1896	9,783,914	202,251,600	157,061,370	105,859,300	208,069,200
1897	11,552,532	238,812,000	164,073,172	98,443,800	212,134,800
1898	13,904,363	287,428,600	165,295,572	97,524,500	213,715,400
Total..	167,120,321	3,454,683,800	2,780,566,618	2,560,386,100	3,505,075,700
Grand total.	245,886,951	5,082,935,800	3,328,563,849	3,289,949,100	4,303,596,700

In addition to this table I will say that from another authority I find that the world's production of gold and silver from 1800 to 1860, and including the present time, is given in round numbers as follows below, which for the period from 1860 to 1898 practically agrees with the above table. That statement is as follows:

The average annual production of gold in the world for the first forty years of the present century, as given by Soetbeer, was \$10,588,000. The average annual production of silver for the same period was \$25,805,000, making a little over \$36,000,000 annually of both gold and silver for the world. From 1840 to 1850 the production of gold averaged \$36,392,000; that of silver, \$32,440,000 annually, or \$68,832,000 of both. From 1850 to 1860 the production of gold rose to \$133,291,000, while that of silver increased to \$37,266,000, giving for both metals an average of \$170,557,000, nearly three times that of the previous decade. From 1860 to 1870 the annual production of gold fell to an average of \$126,948,000 and silver rose to \$50,717,000, making for both \$177,665,000.

From 1870 to 1880 the annual production of gold fell to \$115,000,000 and silver rose to \$91,850,000, coining value, making for both for this decade \$206,850,000, the first time in the history of the precious metals when their production rose above \$200,000,000 in a single year. From 1880 to 1890 the annual production of gold still declined, falling for this decade to \$106,000,000, while that of silver continued to rise until it reached \$172,000,000, coining value, making for both

metals for this decade \$278,000,000. But as silver had been partially demonetized since 1873, the monetary effect was less than the coining value here given.

From 1890 to 1893, when the mints of India were closed and the silver law in the United States was repealed, the annual production of gold rose to \$132,000,000 and silver to \$176,000,000. Since 1893 the production of gold has continued to increase, rising for the fiscal year 1894 to \$181,000,000; \$198,000,000 in 1895, \$202,000,000 in 1896, \$237,000,000 in 1897, and \$300,000,000 in 1898—the highest in the world's history, and larger, as we see, than the production of both metals at any time prior to 1891, and eight times the average production of both metals during the first forty years of the century and one and a half times the average annual production of both from 1860 to 1890, and more than the average annual production of both from 1880 to 1891.

Mr. Chairman, again there is another potent factor in making times apparently good. I say apparently good, for to the toiling masses they are not as good and prosperous to them in proportion as to the money power. Never within the history of this country had the money power such supreme command and control. They are driving with a free rein. It is the trust of trusts. It has created a kind of false prosperity. It has cornered nearly every manufactured article and thereby run the prices up. In doing so, I admit it has put in motion all kinds of factories, giving employment to all. While it has done this, yet it has also raised the prices of nearly all manufactured goods and articles to an abnormal point, thereby compelling all consumers, and especially the toiling masses, to pay unnecessary, yet exacting, tribute to them. The passage of this bill increases its power, and decreases the liberties and the rights of the people.

To place the power in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury and that of the national banks to issue and control the currency of this Union is a bold and dangerous step. Under the provision of the law it virtually gives them the power to issue and control the currency at will or as their interest may dictate. Unquestionably this creates, fosters, and maintains the most dangerous trust of them all—a money trust, which, I fear, will finally control the Government. I do not think I speak extravagantly when I say this. These trusts are a cruel and wicked conspiracy against the prosperity and liberties of the people. In most cases they are a vast horde of legalized plunderers. It is true these trusts are condemned in the President's message, though fostered, I fear, by some of the measures of his party—notably, this financial bill.

Right here I will remark, by the way of parenthesis, that some of the advocates of this measure assert that as some of the eminent financiers indorse this bill and urge its passage, therefore that should be a weighty argument in its favor. I will not stop here to discuss this proposition at length, but will modestly suggest to our self-confident opponents that we have as able financiers on our side of the question as the country can show and who will not suffer by comparison with any. I am sorry, truly sorry, to say we have in the last few years lost a few of our supporters in a rather hurried way. If I mistake not, among some of the distinguished lights and financiers who were once with us is the present Chief Executive and a late Secretary of the Treasury, to say nothing of numerous members who are now on this floor of the House who were once with us, but are now advocating this bill. This defection may prove something or nothing. Just why all this change of front, whether in the line of progress or not, might present a question for debate.

But I must return back to the subject of the increase of gold. An eminent authority on this line says:

What bearing, then, has the recent increase in the production of gold, which has reached, as we have seen, unprecedented and unexpected dimensions, on the money question as viewed from the standpoint of bimetallicists? The effect on prices and business is, of course, the same as it would be if, instead of the present supply being all gold, it were part silver, with free coinage for both metals, as before 1873. In other words, it is the increased supply and not the particular kind of metal that tells. That is the quantity theory of money upon which bimetallicists base their contentions, and to admit that the increased supply of gold keeps up prices and helps business is to admit the quantity theory of money.

Admitting the good effects of the present large production of gold, would it be safe to rest the monetary system of the world for all time upon the accidental production of one metal for a year or for a dozen years? Not years, but centuries—ages—must be taken into view when considering a question like that of a standard of value which extends indefinitely into the future.

The periods in the world's history when the supply of the precious metals has been sufficient to sustain and vitalize industry and commerce have been short and infrequent, while the periods when the blight of an insufficient supply of money has deadened the energies of mankind and stayed the progress of the world have been long and frequent.

What has been will be again. No geologist believes that the present rate of production of gold can last very long, much less be permanent, while the world's activities, if not again checked by another dearth of money, will continue to increase as civilization increases and spreads over the world.

This increase in the gold supply, Mr. Chairman, instead of proving that the gold standard is correct and the bimetallicist is wrong, demonstrates what we have been contending for all the time—more basic money—is correct. The increase in the production of gold for 1898 is more than the combined production of gold and silver for any year prior to 1891. That is to say, if at that period and prior thereto gold and silver had been freely coined at the ratio of 16 to 1, it would not have been as great as the production of gold to-day; that is, for the year 1898. Again, I repeat for emphasis, that the production of gold for 1898 is greater "than the

production of both metals at any time prior to 1891, and eight times the average production of both metals during the first forty years of the century, and one and a half times the average annual production of both from 1860 to 1890, and more than the average annual production of both from 1880 to 1890."

From this statement, which I presume no one will deny, one clearly sees that it is the volume of money in circulation that the country needs and "not the particular kind of metal." I presume all will admit that the increased production of gold has had something to do with the prosperous times. Then, to admit that is to admit the quantity theory of money. I am told it is confidently expected for the year 1899 the production of gold for the world will reach the fabulous sum of \$400,000,000. Think of it. This is nearly twice as great as the production of both metals for any one year prior to 1891. One of the chief arguments of the gold-standard men prior to and since 1891 to the "free coinage of silver" was that it would "flood" the country with too much money.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the combined production of both at that time is less than the production of gold for the year 1898 and is far less, by over \$100,000,000, for the year 1899. This, in my judgment, clearly demonstrates the falsity of the position of those who urged that the free coinage of silver would place too much money in circulation. If that argument was good then, it is good now. But, in the name of justice, do you hear anyone crying out that the country is now "flooded" with gold? Do you hear anyone warning us against a still greater "flood" of gold for this year, that is pouring itself into the lap of the world? No; it is welcomed by all. It does seem to me, Mr. Chairman, if any fair and contemplative mind will analyze these facts, he must inevitably conclude that the bimetallic theory is correct. Well, it may be said as gold in such quantities has been discovered and put into circulation, that we do not need any more money; that is to say, "free silver." My answer to that is, "Would it be safe to rest the monetary system of the world for all time upon the accidental production of one metal for a year or for a dozen years?" I say, no. But I contend, further, that with the increased population and business over this country, if the production of gold should continue indefinitely at the present annual output, then it would not swell the volume of money too great to have the free coinage of silver along with it, but, on the contrary, it would be beneficial to business and the country at large. By reference to the above table of the annual production of gold and silver we see the production of the two metals for the year 1898, which is the greatest by millions in the history of the world for any one year, amounts to the sum of \$501,146,000. The business of the world could easily utilize this sum at an annual yield for all years to come. The unprecedented increase in the world's business and activities, progress, and population, calls for more and more money every year to sustain them, and that desired end can not be reached without the free coinage of silver.

Mr. Chairman, within my limited time this is about as far as I can pursue this line of argument.

Mr. Chairman, this clamor for the gold standard and for this willful degradation of silver by adverse legislation is in the interests of schemers and bondholders who add nothing to the wealth of the country by either industry or invention. To any fair and impartial mind, without argument, one can see that the gold standard could be easily and quickly reduced to a pitiable condition by the use of similar methods. Gold and silver walked side by side at a certain ratio for years, and that happy situation remained until, by a stealthy process of arbitrary legislation, the settled order was overthrown, to the ruin of business and to the misery of countless multitudes of our people. Who is asking for this legislation? The bondholders. The Republican party promised earnest efforts to aid in securing international remonetization. Their efforts in earnest to do so have only been excelled by their earnestness to the contrary.

This cry that we are in danger, or ever have been in danger from an overflow of money, is absolutely without foundation. The output of the mines have been somewhat varied in different years, but the general average of uniformity has been very remarkable always. But what happened in 1873? It is well known that the blow, the murderous blow silver received then by the act of that year was not demanded by the people or any party of this country. Situations of affairs afforded no excuse, in any point of view, for the radical change then wrought out in any such manner. So secretly, and I might say stealthily, was it done that even the President was not aware of the intent of the drastic movement.

Mr. Chairman, may I not be justified in saying that the ultimate effect of this bill is to enrich the wealthy and impoverish the poor? It contracts the circulating medium, making money scarce, while it opens the door wide for additional bond issues without limit; gives the national banks absolute control of all the money in the United States; renders even the Government subject to the greed of the millionaire and national banks; it decreases the circulating medium and increases the number of national banks. It

does seem, Mr. Chairman, that the concentration of the power in the hands of the few and the concentration of the wealth in the great money centers has gone so far that they have become bold and "want the earth and the fullness thereof."

When you pass this bill no measure that will pass this Congress, or has ever passed the American Congress, will be more withering and crushing in the long run to the business interests of this country. Barring our future action on the Philippine question and kindred ones, other legislation we do here may come and go, wither and perish, but the evil and bitter fruit that will necessarily flow from the passage of this bill, will, in my judgment, live and abide long after we are asleep in the bosom of mother earth. In the name of the people whom I represent I do most solemnly protest against the passage of this bill. [Applause on Democratic side.]

Mr. SHACKLEFORD. Mr. Chairman, some of my colleagues on this side have expressed surprise at the extraordinary methods resorted to by the majority to pass this bill. And it is remarkable that a measure of such vast importance should be rushed through in such hot haste. However, there is no room for surprise. The gold power never deals fairly with any question in which its interests are involved. In 1873 it slipped the demonetization of silver through both Houses of Congress and across the President's desk without discovery, very much as a burglar slips through a house at midnight and robs sleeping victims of their jewelry and coin. In 1892 it inserted in the Democratic platform a declaration in favor of admitting both metals to coinage without discrimination against either, but in language of such straddling duplicity that it was construed as a condemnation of the coinage ratio. Mr. Cleveland was there nominated for President. He accepted the nomination and thus gave the country to understand that he would uphold the platform, yet within a few months after his election he called Congress together for the sole purpose of striking down silver coinage altogether.

In 1896 the gold power wrote into the Republican platform a declaration favoring international bimetalism and nominated for the Presidency that gifted orator, Mr. McKinley, whose resonant voice had so lately been reverberating throughout the land in favor of silver coinage and in denunciation of Mr. Cleveland for his hostility to the white metal. From the very day of his election he used all of the influence of his high office to obstruct the international bimetalism for which his platform had declared. Now comes this bill, fresh from the hands of the gold power, to be galloped through, under its whip, in violation of all legislative precedent, to the end that the monopoly conferred by it may be put into the stocking of the national banking trust as a Christmas gift.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to every feature of this remarkable bill. No measure ever came before Congress fraught with more danger to the people than this.

I am opposed to it because it establishes a single gold standard. I do not believe that there is enough gold to transact the business of the world and maintain stability of prices.

Gentlemen on the other side tell us that parity between the two metals could not be maintained. The Government has never tried to maintain a parity, but, on the contrary, has used every means to destroy it, at the instance of the gold power. Let there be no discrimination against either metal. Let the debtor, whether it be the Government or an individual, make payment in the metal most easily obtained and there will never be any trouble about parity.

We are told that the depreciation in silver bullion renders it inexpedient to attempt to maintain silver coinage. Depreciation of silver bullion has resulted from denying it access to the mints. Admit it to coinage on an equality with gold, and silver bullion will be worth as much as silver coin and either will be worth as much as gold. No man having silver bullion would sell it for less than he could get for it at the United States Mint.

You say that you are not willing to coin 50 cents' worth of bullion into a dollar in money. Oh, no; you are too honest for that, but you are willing to coin \$2 worth of the farmer's wheat, \$2 worth of the farmer's hogs into a single dollar in gold, and you have done it.

My Republican friends, why is it that the gold power requires you to demonetize silver? We cannot accept your statement that it is because of the depreciation in silver bullion. You were as determined in your efforts to demonetize it in 1873, when the bullion in a silver dollar was worth \$1.02 in gold coin, as you are now. The object of demonetization then was and now is to enhance the value of gold at the expense of the people.

I am opposed to the bill because it provides for an unlimited increase in our bonded debt. I am one of those who believe that we should be paying off our debt, not increasing it. This measure gives to the Secretary of the Treasury power to issue bonds whenever in his discretion he may deem it necessary, and he will deem it necessary whenever the national banking trust shall demand it. So it is that to confer these special bounties upon the

national banking trust you not only burden the people now living with all the hardships they can carry, but you lay a heavy debt on the country to be paid out of the toil of generations yet unborn. You sell our very children into slavery to the gold power.

I oppose this bill because it will retire our greenbacks from circulation. The people are satisfied with that form of currency. Let the Government issue directly whatever paper money is needed, and not turn that function over to be exercised by the national banking trust. Republicans say that they want the Government to go out of the banking business. Without stopping to discuss the soundness of that proposition, I assert that it is more important that the banks should go out of the governing business. It is not necessary, however, for the Government to go into the banking business in order to keep the greenbacks in circulation. Gentlemen tell us that the greenbacks serve as an endless chain to deplete the gold reserve. This could never have been had the Secretary of the Treasury obeyed the law instead of yielding to the dictates of the gold power. When greenbacks were presented for redemption, had they been redeemed in that metal which it was most easy and convenient to obtain, not a greenback would have been presented for redemption. That is what the plain letter of the law required.

I am opposed to this bill because it creates a trust and confers upon it privileges and immunities not conferred upon the rest of the people. It grants a monopoly. The bank currency provided for in this bill is made secure, not by the solvency of the bank, but by the bonds deposited with the Secretary of the Treasury. Then why should not any bank, or any person having bonds, have the right to deposit them and take currency? There are many banks, thousands of them in the country, which are not national banks, that are abundantly solvent. The purpose of the bill is to limit the special privileges granted to a few hundred national banks which compose the trust.

This bill confers upon the national banking trust the power to issue and regulate the volume of currency. It can make money plentiful or make it scarce as best suits its purpose. It can make money plentiful in one part of the country and scarce in another, as it may choose. It can hurt the whole country. It can hurt one part of the country and help another. The national banking trust under this law can issue currency up to the full amount of bonds it can control, or it can decline to issue any at all. Having issued money, it may call in any or all of it, as may best suit its stock-jobbing purposes. By these processes it can control prices and keep markets continually fluctuating and disturbed. Some very good object lessons as to how this may be done have been given within the last few days. A week ago there was a slump in the stock market. A review of it in a financial paper contained the following:

Having accomplished the object desired in bringing about a general slump in the stock market through the manipulation of money and sterling-exchange rates, the Rockefellers, through the National City Bank, helped along an easier tendency in to day's call loans.

Here we have the Rockefellers, through their bank, making money tight and prices low on one day while they buy what they want, and on the next day, through the same bank, they make money easy and prices high while they sell what they bought so cheap the day before in a panic of their own making. A week later another slump in prices occurred, and here is a statement of it contained in a paper which I hold:

The Standard Oil crowd have done what they wanted—they have forced the Boston and Montana interests to sell out their property to them by all but breaking a big bank. When the Montana people surrendered, the Standard Oil withdrew the pressure and skipped \$3,500,000 from New York to Boston to help the bank out. But in the meantime a lot of people were hurt in the smash.

What tremendous power to be in the hands of a Rockefeller; and yet this is the influence to which the Republican party is giving the power to issue the people's money and regulate the volume of it, to expand or contract the currency, to raise or lower prices at will and in its own interest instead of the people's.

I am opposed to this bill because it will make the national banking trust a factor to be reckoned with in our political contests. It will desire to guard the special privileges granted and obtain others from time to time, and will endeavor to see that a friendly President and Congress is selected.

The gentleman from Ohio, as well as others upon that side, have had the hardihood to cite Andrew Jackson and Thomas Benton as supporters of the policies of this bill. The greatest achievement of those two great statesmen was the overthrow of just such a financial trust as is being created here. It took them seven years to accomplish that result. We could not do better now than to listen to the words of Mr. Benton. In a speech in the United States Senate he said:

This mass of power, thus ramified and thus directed, must necessarily become, under prolonged existence, the absolute monopolist of American money, the sole manufacturer of paper currency, and the sole authority to which the Federal Government, the State governments, the great cities, corporate bodies, merchants, traders, and every private citizen must, of necessity, apply, for every loan which the exigencies may demand. "The rich

ruleth the poor, and the borrower is the servant of the lender." Such are the words of Holy Writ; and if the authority of the Bible admitted of corroboration, the history of the world is at hand to give it. But I will not cite the history of the world, but one example only, and that of a nature so high and commanding as to include all others, and so near and recent as to be directly applicable to our own situation. I speak of what happened in Great Britain in the year of 1795, when the Bank of England, by a brief and unceremonious letter to Mr. Pitt, such as a miser would write to a prodigal in a pinch, gave the proof of what a great moneyed power could do, and would do, to promote its own interests in a crisis of national alarm and difficulty. I will read the letter. It is exceedingly short; for after the compliments are omitted there are but three lines of it. It runs thus:

"It is the wish of the court of directors that the chancellor of the exchequer would settle his arrangement of finances for the present year in such manner as not to depend upon any further assistance from them beyond what is already agreed for."

Such were the words of this memorable note, sufficiently explicit and intelligible; but to appreciate it fully we must know what was the condition of Great Britain at that time. It was the year 1795, and the beginning of that year, than which a more portentous one never opened on the British Empire. The war with the French Republic had been raging two years, Spain had just declared war against Great Britain, Ireland was bursting into rebellion, the fleet in the More was in open mutiny, and the cry for the reform of abuses and the reduction of taxes resounded through the land. It was a season of alarm and consternation, and of imminent actual danger to Great Britain; and this was the moment which the bank selected to notify the minister that no more loans were to be expected. What was the effect of the notification? It was to paralyze the Government and subdue the minister to the purposes of the bank.

From that day forth Mr. Pitt became the minister of the bank, and before two years were out he had succeeded in bringing all the departments of Government to his own slavish condition. He stopped the specie payments of the bank, and made its notes the lawful currency of the land. For twenty years the bank was the dominant power in England; and during that disastrous period the public debt was increased \$2,000,000,000, and that by a bank which, according to its own declarations, had not a shilling to lend at the beginning of the period. I omit the rest. I say nothing of the general subjugation of the country banks, the rise in the price of food, the decline in wages, the increase of crime and taxes, the multiplication of lords and beggars, and the frightful demoralization of society. I only seize the central figure in the picture, that of a government arrested in the midst of war and danger by the veto of a moneyed corporation, and only permitted to go upon condition of assuming the odium of stopping specie payments and sustaining the promissory notes of an insolvent bank as the lawful currency of the land.

This single feature suffices to fix the character of the times, for when the Government becomes the servant of the lender the people themselves become its slaves. Can not the Bank of the United States act in the same way? It certainly can, and just as certainly will when time and opportunity serve and interest may prompt.

What grounds for alarm and terrible apprehension when, with so many independent States, so many rival commercial cities, so much sectional jealousy, such violent political parties, such fierce contests for power, there should be but one moneyed tribunal before which all the rival and contending elements must appear—but one single dispenser of money, to which every citizen, every trader, every merchant, every planter, every manufacturer, every corporation, every city, every State, and the Federal Government itself must apply in every emergency for the indispensable loan, and this in the face of the fact that in every contest for human rights the great moneyed institutions have uniformly been found on the side of kings and nobles and against the lives and liberties of the people.

This was the language of the great Benton, and it does not sound much like he favored a national banking trust, such as the Republicans are calling into existence by this measure. Not less pronounced was the opposition of General Jackson. When the decrepitude of advancing years called him to private life, he wrote a farewell address to the American people, in which he dwelt upon the evils of a banking trust and bank currency; and as a rebuke to the audacity of those who have cited him in support of this measure it may be proper to quote some of his language. He said:

In reviewing the conflicts which have taken place between different interests in the United States and the policy pursued since the adoption of our present form of government, we find nothing that has produced such deep-seated evil as the course of legislation in relation to the currency. The Constitution of the United States unquestionably intended to secure to the people a circulating medium of gold and silver; but the establishment of a national bank by Congress, with the privilege of issuing paper money, receivable in the payment of the public dues, and the unfortunate course of legislation in the several States upon the same subject, drove from general circulation the constitutional currency and substituted one of paper in its place.

Certainly there is nothing in this language to give comfort to the advocates of this bill, for he declares gold and silver both to be the money of the Constitution and condemns national-bank paper in the strongest terms. He says again, further along:

The corporations which create the paper money can not be relied upon to keep the circulating medium uniform in amount. In times of prosperity, when confidence is high, they are tempted by the prospect of gain, or by the influence of those who hope to profit by it, to extend their issues of paper beyond the bounds of discretion and the reasonable demands of business, and when these issues have been pushed on from day to day until public confidence is at length shaken, then a reaction takes place and they immediately withdraw the credits they have given, suddenly curtail their issues, and produce an unexpected and ruinous contraction of the circulating medium which is felt by the whole community. The banks by this means save themselves, and the mischievous consequences of their imprudence or cupidity are visited on the public.

This grand statesman has given us warning against what the Republican majority of this House is about to do, and if we were wise and patriotic we would heed his warning. But the difficulty here is that not the representatives of the people but the representatives of the banking trust are in the majority.

Mr. Chairman, the moving hands of the clock warn me that my time has almost expired and that I must hurry along. Gentlemen of the Republican side had much to say about the higher range of prices of certain commodities prevailing and the era of prosperity now said to exist. They claim that this has been brought about

by the gold standard and the present Administration. My Republican friends, on this as on all other questions you have shown yourselves to be insincere opportunists. Do you say now that higher prices are beneficial to the people? In 1896 you said that you wanted the best dollar in the world—the dollar with the largest purchasing power. You said that you not only wanted low prices, but constantly decreasing prices, and that the election of McKinley and the assurance of the gold standard would insure these. Standing on this floor in 1896, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. DALZELL] said:

I know of no man whose wall is heard because of the fall in prices of wheat grains, food, cloth, clothing and the implements of husbandry and trade, and all that go to administer to the comfort, the health, and the needs of every man, rich or poor, in his own home, except the advocate of the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

This was the Republican view then. On the other hand, Democrats and Populists said that they wanted better prices and that an increase in volume of money would increase prices. The great increase in the output of the gold mines of the world has greatly increased the volume of money in circulation, and this has resulted in better prices, just as we said it would. The result has vindicated the correctness of the principle we contended for. If the increase in the volume of money in circulation caused by the increase in the gold supply has brought a slight improvement, then how much greater would have been the increase if the money volume had been swelled by silver coinage? Other things besides the increase in the volume of money have helped prices. Bad crops abroad and a good crop at home have set the balance of trade in our favor. Surely, with all their gall, Republicans will not claim that either the famine abroad or the good crops at home were caused by the election of McKinley or the establishment of the gold standard.

But, after all, the increase in prices to the producer has been very slight. There is no such era of prosperity as we have heard talked about by the other side. Wherever there has been any marked increase in prices it has been of those things sold by trusts, where prices have been arbitrarily raised and not from the natural course of trade. The farmer is selling his wheat for less than he did a year ago and is paying two and one-half times as much for his barbed wire; is selling his hogs at the same old price and paying \$3.50 for the nails he bought a year ago for \$1.50. This is the character of most of the prosperity now afflicting the country. This is the kind of prosperity that robs the poor to add to the wealth of the rich. That is the purpose of the bill now under consideration. Can you pass it? Will you do it? Yes; you must do it. The trusts demand it. But in after years, when another generation groans under the weight of the debt you are now putting upon the country, your children will rise up to curse you. This abomination will pass into a stain in our statutes, but it will not remain. A long-suffering people will blot it out. The Republican party will be driven from power, and, in the fear of God, William J. Bryan will act as the Chief Magistrate of this Republic. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. BURNETT. Mr. Chairman, I know that as a rule it is better for new members to listen to those who are their seniors in point of public service and to talk but little themselves. But were I to remain silent while the iniquities of this bill are being fastened upon the American people I would be untrue to the platform on which I was nominated, recreant to the trust reposed in me, and false to the principles and doctrines that I myself have always taught. I come, Mr. Chairman, fresh from the hands of the mountaineers of north Alabama, among whom I first saw God's sunlight, among whom I first breathed the pure mountain air, and with it inhaled the very inspirations of liberty itself. Among these people I first learned to hate tyranny and to despise the tyrant, whether it came in the form of some despot himself or that of despotic influences and interests which step by step sap the life-blood of freedom and bind her votaries hand and foot.

When these people met in convention, without my seeking, and, indeed, against my most solemn protest, they placed in my hands the banner of Democracy, and upon every hilltop and in every valley I spread its ample folds to reflect the sunlight of liberty and to catch the affluents of freedom.

When I asked that convention to recall its nomination and place the standard in the hands of some one better able and more desirous of bearing it, and this was refused, I then asked them to write upon it the Chicago platform, without the dotting of an "i" or the crossing of a "t," and that I would lead them to victory, because the people and the people's God would then be upon our side.

When this was done I went forth to battle, and from that day till the polls closed I never doubted the result. Then, Mr. Chairman, with these recollections crowding thick and fast upon me, may I not well say that I would be recreant to my people were I not to raise my voice against what I believe to be the crowning infamy of the Republican party since the days of the "force bill" and carpetbag party? The Republican party has boasted itself as being the party of freedom and of liberty. It points with pride to the fact that at one stroke of the pen it struck the

shackles of slavery from 5,000,000 human beings. For this work I give it credit, and from a honest heart thank God that slavery in the South is forever gone.

But, Mr. Chairman, when this bill passes and begins to show its hideous fangs, I fear that around the limbs of millions of toiling Americans will be riveted chains of poverty and despair harder and more binding than those which you struck from the black man's arms. And in after years, when from the mountain tops of north Alabama and from all over the South and the West the gaunt, hungry fingers of an impoverished people are pointed at you, I can say to those who are now gloating over their brief power, "Shake not your gory locks at me," for "thou didst it." A gentleman in this discussion has said that he wished that the Republican party could give this bill as a Christmas gift to the country. Such thoughts are sacrilege and worthy only of the followers of those who upon the natal day of the Christ child were the money gamblers in the temple, on whom in after years the righteous indignation of the same Christ child was destined to fall. What does that Christmas celebrate? The birth of Him of whom angels from heaven, beneath Judean stars, upon Judean hills, to Judean shepherds, heralded "Peace on earth, good will to men."

But, Mr. Chairman, if I read this bill aright, it carries not one breath of "peace on earth" or "good will to men," but in almost every word it carries the elements of oppression and want. No chord of love or good will can be evoked from its bosom, but the harsh strains of avarice and greed come from its every touch. A few years ago that party which is now bartering its very soul to the money fiend professed to be the friend of silver as well as gold. In its platform of 1888 it denounced the Democratic party in the following terms: "The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver." Was it sincere then? Who can contrast its utterances then with those heard to-day and recognize even the shadow of its former self? On the committee which reported this platform we find the distinguished gentleman who to-day sits at the helm and guides the ship of state. But, oh, how changed!

Coming on down but four brief years to 1892, we again find the Grand Old Party declaring its friendship for silver, but in more restricted terms. Slowly, yet surely, it was seeking to be struck by the aspen sting of gold, and in the following terms does it deliver itself along this line:

The American people, from tradition and interest, favor bimetalism, and the Republican party demand the use of both gold and silver as a standard money, with such restrictions and under such provisions, to be determined by legislation, as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals so that the purchasing and debt-paying power of the dollar, whether silver, gold, or paper, shall be at all times equal. We commend the wise and patriotic steps taken by our Government to secure an international conference and adopt such measures as will insure a parity between gold and silver for use as money throughout the world.

Four more years roll by, and we find it in open flirtation with this gilded, painted maid, and in its self-sought sleep it lays its head in this Delilah's lap, seeking to be shorn. This is its utterance:

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879. Since then every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to any measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such an agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States, and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

Who could be deceived by such utterances as these? Many there were so credulous as to believe that beneath this tempting bait there lurked no cruel hook. Still her speakers went forth, wearing this transparent mask, and, like the ostrich, thought if but the head was hid no part was exposed to view. Many were deceived by the words of their oily politicians, who were—

By smooth dissimulation skilled to grace;
A devil's nature with an angel's face.

And when the polls were closed Nebraska's noble son had fallen with his face still to the foe. Then it was that the money power laughed and said, "We've gotten all we want." Our coffers were invaded and we were made to bleed, but soon it will all come back. Slowly the stealthy tread of the assassin of silver and the enemy of the people has marched for years along the corridors and within these halls with hidden blade, but now beneath this Dome, in broad daylight, it is drawn to deal the fatal blow.

The mask of dissimulation is now thrown off, and those who eight years ago acknowledged the people as their only lords and feared to disobey their will now boldly bow before the golden calf. Scarcely a decade has passed since it denounced the Democratic party for trying to do what it is about to do. But—

Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As to be hated needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

Mr. Chairman, do you suppose, or is there one of the distinguished gentlemen who has spoken on the pending measure who does suppose, that if to the thousands of American pilgrims who visited the mecca of Republicanism in 1896, and from the vine-bowered cottage heard words of inspiration from their chief—that if that chief had proclaimed that the success of the Republican party meant the passage of this bill, he to-day would have been the nation's head? No, Mr. Chairman, no; but instead of going forth with thousands shouting at his triumphal car he would have been buried beneath an avalanche of American ballots so deep that no blast from HANNA'S bugle horn could ever have disturbed his sleeping clay.

Mr. Chairman, there is no man who has a higher respect for the distinguished Chief Executive of this nation than I. There is no man who has a higher respect for the distinguished leaders of the Republican party than I. But I believe that when they fix this bill upon the American people they turn loose a Pandora's box of ills that no antidote of time can ever heal. They tell us that the bill is a mere declaration of what the law is now. If so, why waste thousands of dollars of the people's money in a work of supererogation? I believe that many of you would now in your heart of hearts pray that this cup might pass from you. But you have promised it, and with lash held high above your heads your master now demands the pay. 'Twas not thus nominated in the bond, but he tells you 'twas written thus between the lines.

Another national election is coming on. Another bond must soon be made to the same old usurer, and before your draft is honored he says in words that can not be misunderstood, "First pay what thou owest to the uttermost farthing." That, Mr. Chairman, explains your unseemly and indecent haste. Your national committee meets here to-morrow, and with it comes the money changer, and he presents your note. Gladly would you renew, but he tells you no. Pay what you owe and then borrow again. And then with folded hands you say, "'Tis thine to command, and mine to obey."

Recognizing their impotency to go before the people on the cold facts of their record, they know they must dicker with the money power for the sinews of war. It is a bitter pill for you to swallow, gentlemen of the Republican side, but your doctor says you must take it, and like little men you will gulp it down. You sugar-coated it for years, but now, with all its bitterness, you shut your eyes and swallow it down. Did I need argument to prove that bimetalism is right and a single gold standard is wrong, I could stand here till Christmas and quote from the speeches of your ablest men arguments stronger and more conclusive than I could make. The distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR], understood to be the able mouthpiece of the Administration on this floor, by his frequent previous utterances furnishes many strong arguments for this side.

But against the heresies of the pending measure we need no appeal to Republican argument. It carries within its own bosom the seeds of its own condemnation. The second section of the bill is in violation of at least two principles of the Federal Constitution. It is obnoxious to that principle which makes both gold and silver the basic money of the Government and is violative of that principle which lends the emphasis of organic law to the inviolability of a contract.

When young liberty was an infant in its swaddling clothes, and the American people had first emerged from the sway of the tyrant, the fathers wrote into the fundamental law the doctrine that gold and silver both should be the money of the land. In that same instrument was ingrafted the principle that has always been the rule of good morals, that the law should never lend its sanction to the violation of contracts.

When in the contract of the bond monger was written the statement that it should be made payable in "coin," the purchaser took it with the knowledge of the fact, expressed in the instrument itself, that they could be paid either in silver or gold at the option of the Government. This agreement you now break for them by permitting them to demand payment in gold alone. The effect of such action is to enhance the value of their bonds, and the people are made to pay them an amount greatly in excess of what they agreed to take. Is this fair? Is it just? Is it honest? Let the American people answer. But you reply that it is equally unjust to pay these bonds in a debased money. If they agreed to take payment in a money liable to be debased, this was their contract, and they should abide by its terms.

But, Mr. Chairman, if silver has been debased, it was their hand which struck it down, and they are parties to the crime. Then shall they with bold assumption take advantage of their own wrong? No forum of conscience would permit it, and in no forum of the law should such monstrous views be ever known. Silver for a hundred years held companionship with gold, oftener being before than behind, and never did it become unsound till stricken by the heavy hand of law. The laws of trade could not dethrone it; the law of supply and demand could not do it, but it took the Congress to strike it down. Before you talk of unsound money, restore it to its legal place beside the yellow coin. Place it there

upon the same plane by law as you place gold, and see if side by side they will not move with even tread. We who favor its restoration under the law, we who favor the legalized free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, are indeed the honest-money men, and not you who have dragged it from its pedestal beside the gold.

Another result, Mr. Chairman, of this second section will be to establish a gold monopoly, whose effects we are sure to feel. The President, in his recent message, argues against baneful trusts, and yet, when he puts the Executive signature to this bill, he gives the positive sanction of the law to the most gigantic trust ever turned loose upon the land. It requires all debts, both public and private, to be paid in gold. These are said to be over \$50,000,000,000, greatly more than all the gold in circulation in all the world. Then suppose the devotees of gold should begin to demand payment in that coin of all these debts as they become due, where will the gold come from to pay them, and how soon will gold rise and sweat fall?

Then comes contraction and with it misery and squalid want not dreamed of in the philosophy of the most veritable calamity howler in all the land. There is another feature of contraction in this bill that is dangerous in the extreme. It is that which permits the withdrawal of hundreds of millions of dollars of greenbacks from circulation. It is no answer to this proposition to say that such confidence will be inaugurated by the passage of the bill as that no such contraction will take place. It is the history of all money sharks that whenever it is to their interest thus to do they will always play the card. The annals of all countries show that undue contraction of the currency always results in misery and suffering among God's poor. Those to whom the law should ever hold out its helping hand are those who soonest feel the evils of a money strain. Sir Archibald Alison, the great English historian, in his magnificent history of Europe, speaking of the evils of contraction, says:

Serious as these evils were, they did not excite any general attention as long as they were partial or confined chiefly to particular localities. But during the last fifteen years another cause of general influence has come into operation, which had rendered the evils complained of universal and engendered a general feeling of the necessity of its removal. This was the contraction of the currency, the prolific parent of all the social and political changes which have taken place in Great Britain during the last thirty years and the effects of which are far from being yet exhausted.

Thus prosperity under a system of currency mainly dependent on the retention of gold leads to alternations of prosperity and suffering as inevitably as night succeeds day and day night, and that altogether irrespective of drains of gold from extraneous causes such as war loans, extensive importations of grain owing to bad harvests, or the like—which necessarily and still more immediately lead to a ruinous contraction of the currency, and consequent stoppage of credit and general suffering.

The way, and the only way, to avoid this is perfectly simple, although such is the combined influence of the clear appreciation of the subject by a few interested parties on the one hand and the benighted ignorance of it by the vast majority of the sufferers under it on the other that an entire generation required to be rendered bankrupt, or go to their graves, before the subject was generally understood. This is to have two currencies in every commercial community—the one convertible on demand into the precious metals, for conducting its foreign transactions; the other not so convertible, to sustain its domestic industry.

Again, Mr. Chairman, I oppose this bill because in its third and fourth paragraphs, and in fact throughout the bill, it makes the Secretary of the Treasury a veritable autocrat of American finance. True to the traditions of the Republican party, it is a long stride toward their pet theory of centralized power. No more dangerous function of Government could be conferred on any man than is conferred on the Secretary by this bill. It gives him the right to insert the lance of autocratic power and draw from the arteries of Government every drop of life blood flowing through the same. In it you have a species of centralism more dangerous to liberty than all your standing armies. For when you bring the wolf to the poor man's door, and he sees his pale-faced wife and hungry children threatened by its fangs, you bind him hand and foot and crush the breath of liberty from his soul more nearly than in any other way.

The monopoly given to the national banks, Mr. Chairman, is an evil lurking in the bill that is but little less than those I have pointed out. Such powers are subversive of the doctrine of "equal rights to all and special privileges to none," and should meet a just rebuke from every Democratic voter. But I have not time to further elaborate the iniquities with which this bill bristles from beginning to end.

Mr. Chairman, I believe in the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 without awaiting the concurrence of any nation on God's green earth. I believe we are big enough and old enough to take care of ourselves. In this I differ from many of my warmest Democratic friends at home—men who are honest in their views and whose opinions I respect. I believe that William J. Bryan is to-day the ablest living exponent of the principles I have discussed, and I believe he will be its standard bearer for the second great battle.

I reverse the traditions of my party as handed down by the fathers. I believe in its doctrines as taught by its sages and as exemplified in the lives of its statesmen. As such, and as I view

conditions, I would be a traitor to my people and unworthy their commission were I not to lift my voice and record my vote against the pending measure. In the cabins and in the cottages upon the mountain tops and in the valleys of my native heath lives the yeoman, surrounded by his toil-worn wife and his little flock. God grant that no act or vote of mine may ever add to the burdens which they now bear, and that in every word I utter and every vote I cast while I stand as their representative upon this floor I may have no higher motive and no loftier aim than to promote their best interest and alleviate their conditions.

Then when I return to my home I can look them in the face and say of a truth, "Thy people are my people; thy country is my country; thy God is my God." [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. RIDGELY. Mr. Chairman, this bill is here under orders from the Bankers' Association and the world's great money trust. Its title should read:

A bill to lock up and finally destroy all our silver dollars, greenbacks, and other issues of Government currency.

To give national banks a complete monopoly of the nation's credit and power of issuing all paper money, permitting them to expand or contract its volume at will.

To compel the people to pay the banks double interest on their capital—first, on their bonds (which are also free of all tax); second, on their bank notes.

To create and put in perpetual motion an endless chain to draw both gold and gold bonds from the Treasury at the will of the money trust.

To repudiate all existing money contracts, public and private, giving the creditor twice his legal right by compelling all debtors to pay in money of double value.

To create and support, at the expense of our people, the most powerful money trust of the world, giving it power to reduce wages and prices of all property at will.

Mr. Chairman, the iniquity of this legislation is partially but truly exposed by this revised title, yet some of its provisions are so villainous as to demand special mention in connection with the recent record of the Republican party and its leaders here and elsewhere.

REPUBLICAN TREACHERY TO SILVER.

During all these years of conflict between silver and gold (which is, in fact, the struggle of the great common people against the money trust) the Republican party has, until this act, professed to desire the full restoration of silver as "standard money." In 1890 President McKinley declared on the floor of this House:

I would give it (silver) equal credit and honor with gold; I would make no discrimination; I would utilize both metals as money and discredit neither; I want the double standard.

In 1888 the Republican national platform contained this declaration:

The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver money.

In 1892 the Republican national platform declared as follows:

The Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money.

Standard money, Mr. Chairman. I call special attention to the importance of this fact, as it defines the attitude of the Republican party. In that year a question had arisen in the public mind as to what the Republican party meant in 1888, when it declared in favor of silver money. Did it mean token money, to be redeemed with gold, as this bill provides, or standard money, having all the powers that Congress could give to gold or any other money? To this question the party emphatically answered with the demand for "silver as standard money."

HOW THE MIGHTY HAVE FALLEN!

To-day we have before us in this bill proof that the Republican party has not only surrendered to the gold trust, but that it is ready to use its present absolute power to bind the people with this gold bond by all the powers that human law contains, and by this act prove itself a traitor and repudiator of its oft-repeated pledges to its members and the country. Of this act thousands of honest Republicans are making a note to-day and doubtless forming resolutions to quit the party for its treason to the people and its cowardly surrender to the demands of the money kings.

If any further proof of this cowardly surrender is necessary, I will quote from leading Republican members speaking officially on the floor of this House at still later dates. On February 14, 1895, the House having under discussion a resolution authorizing the issue of gold bonds, one of the very things which this bill now provides, the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GROSVENOR], in opposition to gold bonds, said:

Fellow-Republicans, let me read to you our platform, the declaration of our principles upon which we have marched to both victory and defeat. In 1888 we said: "The Republican party is in favor of gold and silver as money and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver." In 1892 we said: "The Republican party from tradition and interest favors bimetalism, and the Republican party demands the use of gold and silver as standard money." These are the declarations of our party, and, Mr. Speaker, as one faithful to this platform declaration, I will not vote for this measure.

At still later dates, even after the election of 1896; we find prominent Republicans on this floor declaring that their party is not a single gold-standard party and that its last national platform does not declare for the single gold standard. And now we have this single gold-standard bill before us, under "hurry-up" orders, being the first bill introduced on the first day of this the first Congress, since the conflict began, in which the gold party have held absolute control over this money question; here, too, not from any committee of this House, but direct from a Republican caucus, without a dissenting vote, acting on the demand of the great banking and money trust.

These facts, Mr. Chairman, are enough to bring the blush of shame to the face of every honest Republican, to hide which gentlemen on the other side cry "prosperity" and boast of the great increase of the volume of gold and bank notes, while in still louder tones they boast of increased debts, which they call "confidence."

ANSWER TO CLAIMS OF PROSPERITY.

Mr. Chairman, our answer to all this is that the present activities are not due to any acts of the Republican party. They are mainly the result of the war, accidents of the seasons, and multiplied debts. The war forced a debt (destined under this bill to grow) on the nation of two hundred millions, drawing that amount of money out of hiding and paid it into circulation. It has forced temporary employment of large numbers of our people.

The accidents of the seasons forced a temporary influx of gold, and the national banks have increased their debts by issuing more notes.

A still greater cause of present conditions is to be found in the resulting wild speculations in all classes of industrial properties and their multiplied debts under the manipulation of powerful trust syndicates.

When we analyze these causes we find fully 90 per cent of them are new forms of debts, which this bill declares shall be paid out of the people's products in such amounts as will buy 25.8 grains of gold for each dollar of all these vast debts.

Ah, my Republican gold-standard friends, do you realize what all this means? The best authenticated statistics we have place the aggregate of all debts in the United States at \$40,000,000,000 and of the world at \$150,000,000,000. This vast debt is steadily increasing, the annual interest being more than the world can pay, while we go on legislating to force our people still deeper into debt, deceiving ourselves by assuming that by statute laws we can make the impossible possible.

TO IMPROVE THE BILL.

Mr. Chairman, if the majority here would permit amendments to this bill, we would offer a number. One would be to permit any citizen to deposit United States bonds and draw currency thereon, stopping interest on all bonds so deposited by banks or others while on deposit. This would prevent the bank monopoly of the volume of our money and also save the people from paying double interest.

THE REAL ISSUE.

Mr. Chairman, the real issue involved in this whole money question is not between gold and silver alone; it is, in fact, a question of who shall issue and control our money supply. Shall we by this legislation make a gift of this great power and profit to the bank syndicate? They can not get it except by legislation. Or shall we retain this sovereign power in and for the people?

All money is the creation of law. In a republic all laws emanate from the people; hence the power to create and issue money is inherent and belongs to all the people.

The question of what substance we shall use to evidence our money power, whether paper, silver, or gold, like the questions of quantity, legal power, and method of issue, are matters of detail only.

This bill gives to a few bankers the sovereign money power of all the people, guaranteeing double interest to the banks on their entire capital—first, the interest on their Government bonds, which are free of all tax; second, bank interest on their notes. Every cent thus donated the people must pay.

This bill also gives the banks full power to increase their notes at will, but does not compel them to keep up any definite supply, thus leaving the control of the volume and value of money absolutely with the banks.

DESTRUCTION OF ALL GOVERNMENT MONEY.

To make room for these bank notes this bill is clearly intended to finally destroy as money all of our silver dollars and greenbacks as well as all Government currency, of which there is now in existence and use over nine hundred million dollars. Another reason why the silver dollar must be eventually destroyed is to prevent the States from legislating (as under the Constitution they have a right to do) to make them legal tender in payment of all debts.

The question will soon properly arise, when this law goes into effect, Why use fifty cents' worth of silver upon which to print a promise to pay a dollar in gold; why not sell the silver as bullion and print these promises on paper?

The intention of the bill is clearly to destroy all forms of Government money, including all silver dollars. It also forces the people to keep the value of all bank notes equal at all times to gold by making them receivable and interchangeable by the Government. To do this, new issues of Government gold bonds are to be kept on sale without limit.

This bill will cost the producers of our country not less than \$200,000,000 annually, making them donate this amount to the banks. All of this great burden could be saved by proper legislation.

THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD ISSUE ALL MONEY.

To all this I would offer a substitute for the entire bill, providing for the issue of all money by the Government, giving to every dollar—whether paper, silver, or gold—full, absolute, and equal money power, receivable for all taxes and debts, paying the same into circulation on the Government expense account, thus reducing taxes and abolishing all issues of bonds forever, regulating the volume and value of such money by keeping it in a fixed ratio to the total quantity of all property in the nation, eliminating the debt system by making the money volume large enough to transact all business on a cash basis, neither authorizing nor enforcing debt contracts.

As material on which to evidence this money I would provide Government coinage of all silver and gold metals offered at the mints at the present ratio of 16 to 1, adding paper to regulate the total volume of money. I would provide, as now, a close watch over all exports and imports of money, supplementing the metal money in domestic use with such volume of paper money as would from time to time be necessary to regulate the value of the dollar in its average purchase or exchange relation to property. This can always be done by giving all money full legal-tender power, maintaining its total volume in a fixed ratio to the total quantity of all property, and eliminating the debt system.

MORE THAN THE GOLD STANDARD.

Mr. Chairman, I would warn members here and the country that this bill does much more than rivet the single gold standard upon our people; it ties them hand and foot, and delivers them as helpless victims into the hands of the world's most powerful money trust, a trust, too, whose strength, great as it is now, will be multiplied tenfold by the advantages it gives. As an index to what is coming upon the people I will present here an editorial from the pen of Alfred Henry Lewis, published in the Verdict, August 7, 1899, a paper, too, owned and controlled exclusively by O. H. P. Belmont, one of the moneyed kings of America:

HERE BE TRUE NEWS.

This is a grave story. It is one of even, near concern to small and great. Let it come unshod of simile, unbusked of imagery or rhetoric, unclouded of any mists of metaphor. In Wall street, as this is read, the giant trust of all is forming. It is to collect within itself the banks of New York City. Its core is to be Standard Oil. Its moving spirits are John Rockefeller and Pierpont Morgan. With them in full and close association are the Rothschilds and their American agents. It was to link the Rothschilds to the scheme that of late took Morgan Europeward and brought him back again. This trust at its consummation, which is close, will pull the reins of guidance and crack the whip of domination over \$2,000,000,000. It will, as stated, be a master of the New York City banks. They are to be made into one force, unified and brought under one word and one command. Thereafter they are to say "No" together, or "Yes" together, or together stand motionless and mute. This trust of the banks is to be the dictator trust; to overlord all other trusts. The greatest among these latter will be dwarfed as they stand beside it. We, the people, are to become the subjects of bank conquest and suffer the feudalism of money. This bank trust is to be our William of Normandy. New York City is to be its Hastings without a blow. It will have, as it were, a Doomsday book, and the country is to be parceled among its followers.

This is a true tale. There is neither guess nor fancy in its telling. Naught but the bald facts are set forth. This trust expects to hold the nation in the hollow of its hand. Their plan is to be the grand bank of the United States; issue at the last its money and have custody of its credit. In a cruder day Jackson defeated a parallel conspiracy; crushed beneath his stern heel the head of a similar serpent. With this difference: That was a python of seven and one-half millions, a baby and plaything to the one in hand. Now are we to confront a serpent of two billions, or one two hundred and fifty times as large. At a time, too, when the Jacksons seem gone from our midst. For a century and a quarter there has been liberty in this land. For a century and a quarter Europe, pointing to America, whether in hate or love, was driven to say with Job: "There the wicked cease from troubling; there the weary be at rest! There the prisoners rest together; they hear not the voice of the oppressor! The small and the great are there, and the servant is free from his master!" Once this trust of the banks, and Europe will say this no more. There will none to give tongue to it. The fact of freedom will have departed, the song would be a lie. In that day of fabled, narrow fetters the spirit of true Americanism will be crippled, bent, and broken. A sightless Samson, it will grind in the mills of the Philistines. It will long for destruction and dig for death as for treasures that lie hid.

Standard Oil is to be the heart of this bank trust. There is one known thing of Standard Oil. Its minimum profits are at least forty millions yearly. How much more they be is the jealous secret of Standard Oil, and none may pierce it. As stated, as captain-constructors of this bank trust are Rockefeller, Morgan, and the Rothschilds. They will go to New Jersey for organization. That State has grown the Morocco of America. Its statutes are the merest shipyards to build and launch and outfit these trust pirates of commerce. New Jersey, to be consistent, should adopt the black flag as its banner. It should float the Jolly Roger with skull and crossbones from the dome staff of its capital. Once this trust of the banks is afloat, it will have beneath its pennant every bank in New York. They must join or be destroyed. The old killing Standard Oil method will suffice for this. Then it will extend itself. Every bank in the country will become its gillie. There will be no limit to its sway. Its powers will find their last extension in the frontiers of the possible. It will loose and unloose credit. It will fix the

price of money and censor the markets to the last item of value. It will pick up the national debt and hold the country between its thumb and finger. It will demand bonds and get them. Or it will force payment for them. It will stand at the spigot of loans. It will flow money on or off at its selfish interest or caprice.

All other businesses will set like beggars at its gates. It will be the Dives of trade, and commerce will become its Lazarus. If it likes you, you may have money; if it hates you, your ruin is within its reach. In short, controlling as it will the tides of credit in their ebb or flow, this bank trust will rule the mart. An autocrat, it will respond to nothing but itself. There will be none greater, none stronger. Congresses will exist by its consent, and Presidents wait hat in hand for its orders. It will have power of life and death in business; to lift up or strike down, to plant or uproot. Between the upper and nether millstones of its operations all men are to be ground; and all will be grist to its hopper. Elections will be at its mercy. It will produce in office its own paid, sworn follower. It will draw within the train of its control every element of government. You may change your White House every four years, your Congress every two; yet, once this trust of the banks be rooted, you'll never change your ruler. You will bow eternally before this never-dying, changeless dynasty of money.

SOCIALISM IS COMING.

And now, Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, I deem it my duty to take a broader view of the problems involved in this legislation. We are approaching the rapid culmination of the most tyrannical forms of capitalism. The owners of wealth as far back as we have history of human government have ever insisted that capital should have the legal right to draw to itself increase out of labor's productions. These wealth owners are ever present when laws are to be enacted and see to it that every power of government, legislative, executive, and judicial, shall be made to recognize and enforce this power of capital. Armies are instituted and directed in their operations to support and extend the rights and interests of capital, even in the present wars waged under its orders against the Filipinos and the Boers; we hear the bold demand of capital claiming its right to conquer those people in order that it may appropriate nature's rich resources, using our armies to hold the people there in subjection, while capital works them at a few pennies per day, throwing their product of rice, tobacco, sugar, cotton, etc., on the market to force down wages of our home people.

The hand of capitalism is even plainly visible in the treaty so recently made with Spain. By its terms we are bound to recognize and enforce all land and property titles that may have obtained in any and all the territory acquired, up to the very hour of its ratification, regardless of fraudulent methods or the plundering processes that had long since driven the people into open revolt. Ah! Mr. Chairman, there is much more at stake than the gold standard, and I warn its friends here and elsewhere that by their very greed and by this very bill their idol is doomed to its final death—killed in the house of its friends in their servile effort to serve a tyrannical and relentless master.

All laws enforcing tribute to capital are bound to go. Civilization can not carry this mighty load of capitalism much longer and survive. The people will find a way out. Already the cry against every trust is universal in the land. Legislation is being urged by the people providing a graduated tax upon all forms of wealth as the best way to return at least a part of the ill-gotten gains of the rich to the people from whom it is being unjustly taken.

MILLIONS OF SOCIALISTS.

Socialists are multiplying by hundreds of thousands throughout the nation. This bill will recruit their ranks by millions. Their power will soon be felt upon the floor of Congress and in every department of government. They have the true solution of this mighty and growing trust problem. They lay down as their foundation rock the broad principle that all capital for the successful production and distribution of all things necessary to the highest human comfort, mental and social development, which of necessity must be used collectively, shall be owned collectively, and that such property as can best be used individually shall be owned individually. Their cry is, "Public ownership of public utilities." By this simple policy they propose and will forever abolish the bondage of capital and make it serve man, instead of, as now, demand service from man. We are by this very bill unwittingly hastening and making the establishment of socialism an absolute certainty. As one who believes in the fundamental principles of socialism I take a degree of satisfaction in seeing this bill enacted into law, knowing that it will hasten the overthrow of the present system of capitalism it is designed to serve. As it goes down the people will establish in its place a government restored to and used by and for the people. That government will be true socialism. Under this new order, soon to be universally established, every toiler will get more than double pay over present rates, while all interest and tribute to capital will be forever abolished. Our Government railroads will render better service at one-fourth present charges, paying double wages for eight hours' labor. The people everywhere will find ready employment in healthy, well-ventilated factories and mines, each one receiving the full value of his product; our women will enjoy happy homes, while free to choose their occupation, owning and controlling all they produce, while no child will be compelled to work to the sacrifice of its

education and health. May God speed the day when all these happy conditions shall be realities. They are all possible and already in sight. To the millions of overburdened and heavy-hearted people I extend congratulations, not because of this legislation, but in spite of it, for its burdens will arouse again the slumbering spirit of liberty and the tyranny of capitalism will be overthrown, while in its stead industrial and social freedom will be established.

Mr. HENRY C. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I think that this is the only place on this earth where a man is permitted to talk about silver. Up in my State of Michigan the man who would attempt to discuss the money question would empty the hall as quickly as it would be emptied if a smallpox sign were hung over the stage. [Laughter.] With us it is a dead issue.

Gunton instructs us that in the Anaconda mine silver can be produced ready for coinage without expense. The by-products found with it are of sufficient value to pay the cost of mining. In the mines of New South Wales the silver in a dollar may be produced at an expense of 25 cents. The output of these mines is sufficient to meet the world's demand for silver. Under such circumstances it is not possible that gold and silver may be kept together at the ratio of 16 to 1. This being true, it seems to me that no harm can come from a declaration of the real facts. No harm can come from putting into enduring form in our statutes the statement that gold to-day is the real and the only true measure and unit of value.

The Republican party has always stood for advancement. It has always met with courage the duty of the hour. The trouble with our friends on the other side is not that they are sometimes right and sometimes wrong, for I admit that the real Democrats have many times been right. The trouble is, they are never right at the right time. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] They are like a man who sits in a street car with his back in the direction the car is going, with his back turned toward progress. They never see a good thing until they have got by it. [Applause and laughter on the Republican side.]

They are like the boy who for the first time saw an elephant. He said, "Oh, mother, he is going in the wrong direction." [Laughter.] Up in our State the real Democrats, the Democrats who are so oftentimes right, have absolutely perished. They have an alliance up there between Silver Republicans, Silver Democrats, Prohibitionists, and the remnants of the Salvation Army [laughter], all out not for principle but for victory.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I do not believe that any party will ever succeed on wind money. Real money is what we want, and I believe that the real money is gold money. Because it matters not, Mr. Chairman, what nation may stamp the gold coin. It may bear the impress of the weakest or the strongest nation of the world, it is of equal value. We may gather the gold coin from the wreck of the ages, we may take it from the ruins of a nation two thousand years dead, and it is just as true and just as valuable as it was the day it fell shining from the mint that stamped it. That is real money, good money, gold money; and all we ask of men on either side is that they will vote their convictions; vote for the real and the good money. Have the courage of your convictions. Courage is the best word that ever blossomed upon the lips of man. Ernest Renan brushed the dust from a sunken Syrian tomb, laid two thousand years before the Christian era, and he found inscribed thereon one word, and that word told the history of a progressive and a prosperous people. That one word was "Courage!"

If our great party shall ever perish from the earth, and the time shall ever come when her record shall fail to be written among the annals of men, let there be inscribed upon her tomb two words, and let those words be "Courage" and "Integrity." There can be no harm in declaring in this law that an honest people shall pay her honest debts in the best money of its nation.

Our party was ever honest, ever true. I come from the district where this party was born. Under the oaks at Jackson, in nature's cathedral, amid the fragrance of flowers and the songs of birds, our party was born. It was a birth of purity, and pure it will continue, and it will ever stand for the payment of the nation's honest debts in the nation's honest money. [Applause on the Republican side.]

But our friends say that the gold standard breeds trusts. The tariff was the father of trusts, they also say. In a sense our party has led to the trusts. Under the rule of your friend and leader, Mr. Cleveland, who you say should have been put off at Buffalo— [Laughter.]

A MEMBER. And kept off.

Mr. HENRY C. SMITH. And kept off. There was no claim about trusts. There was no argument that money was too aggressive. Your claim then was that money was cowardly; that it never fought battles; that it went into hiding. The times and the circumstances are such now that money is getting aggressive, it is in the fight, and you claim that it must be restrained. Under our rule you say it goes into trusts, and under your rule it goes into stockings and other hiding places.

Sam Jones tells a story of a man he met the other day, an old free-silver mollusk, as he called him. He said, "Jones, where is all that prosperity you were going to give us?" "Why," said Jones, "it is everywhere. Labor is employed, capital is active, the railroads are overburdened. There is prosperity everywhere." And he said, "It has not struck me yet." Jones said, "It is pretty hard to hit nothing." [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. GIBSON. Mr. Chairman, I do not care so much to discuss this bill in detail as to talk of the general political situation. I am not at all terrified by the awful Democratic denunciations hurled with such deafening vehemence at this bill and its authors, aiders, and abettors. I have heard Democratic denunciations before, and have long ago learned that whatever the politicians of the Democratic party oppose it is fairly safe for a Republican to favor, for they have opposed every political bill passed by the people and the Republican party in the last forty years. The result is that when I hear the Democrats denouncing any political measure I feel very safe in favoring that measure.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AN ANTI PARTY.

The Democratic party may be called the "anti" party. They are "anti" this and "anti" that. They are "anti" everything—anti-gold standard, anti-protection, anti-imperialism, anti-trust, anti-expansion, anti-militarism, and even anti-prosperity unless it comes their way.

Years ago it was anti-consolidation, anti-Grantism, anti-resumption, anti-civil rights, anti-centralization, anti-greenbacks, and anti everything the Republican party favored.

As a result the various planks in the Democratic platforms soon get out of fashion and are cast aside like old clothes. The old anti-Grant plank is now down in the Democratic cellar, being used for kindling wood. The anti-resumption plank is now offered at 5 cents on the dollar of its original cost. The anti-greenback plank can not be found at all, and they deny ever having had one. The anti-civil-rights plank is so covered with dust and cobwebs you can not read it. The anti-protection plank is not put to the front any more, and is marked, "Once 100 cents, but now 75 cents," like goods in a store window. The old anti-centralization plank is the only one that they have taken out of their rubbish heap and rubbed up for future use, if needed. Even the 16 to 1 plank, that was above par last year, is now put a little behind the anti-trust and anti-imperialism planks, and is marked, "Only 90 cents—was 105."

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY A DO-NOTHING PARTY.

The fact is, Mr. Chairman, the Democratic party is strictly an anti-party. I defy any of them to name a law now on the statute book put there by the Democratic party in the last fifty years that is to-day of any benefit to the American people, and especially to the laboring man. And yet they always in election times and in their speeches pretend that they are the friends of the laboring man.

The Republican party is the great affirmative, progressive party of the country. It has led the way in every forward step our country has taken in the last forty years. It has put on the statute book every law there that benefits the poor man, that builds up commerce, that helps the farmer, that multiplies manufactures, and guards the rights, liberties, and privileges of the American people. The Republican party for forty years has marched at the head of the great American procession, the flag of our country in its right hand, and the band playing "Hail, Columbia" and "Yankee Doodle." The dogs barked and the donkeys brayed, but the procession moved grandly on. [Applause.] It has been well said that the Republican party proposes, the Almighty disposes, and the Democratic party opposes. [Laughter.]

DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL BUGABOOS.

The priests of some religions, doubting their ability to rule their people by appealing to their reason and consciences, resort to methods of terror, and manufacture awful idols and monstrous graven images, and perform various incantations and grotesque dances, attired in robes of terror, with horns on their heads and visages painted in imitation of imaginary monsters.

So the high priests of the Democratic party have for the last forty years been trying to terrify the people with imaginary political bugaboos.

When Lincoln was first a candidate the Democratic high priests got up an awful bugaboo they called "abolitionism," and deceived multiplied thousands of the people.

When Grant was our candidate for the Presidency they manufactured twin bugaboos, called "centralization" and "military despotism," and scared many timid persons into believing that if Grant was elected our liberties would all be taken away from us.

When Hayes was our candidate they paraded before the public the caricature denominated a "bloated bondholder," and tried to make us believe that it was the Republican party in disguise, and that if Hayes was elected the bondholders would take all of our property from us and feed us on husks.

When Garfield was our candidate these high priests of Democracy invented a most fearful bugaboo devil called the "force bill," and terrified the Southern people within an inch of their lives by swearing that if Garfield was elected a vast army would be sent South to hold the elections, and that none but Republicans and negroes would be allowed to vote, and as a consequence the South would be destroyed and life for a Democrat would not be worth living.

When Harrison was last a candidate these same Democratic high priests got together and invented a brand-new lot of frightful bugaboos, whom they denominated "robber barons," and rushed them all over the country to the terror and dismay of millions of innocent and unsuspecting Democrats, and created such an epidemic of apprehension and fear that Cleveland was actually elected President; and now we are told by these same Democratic high priests that Cleveland was a worse devil than all of the awful "robber barons" combined! [Laughter.]

THE GOLDBUG BUGABOO.

When McKinley was our candidate for President three years ago the Democratic bugaboo makers brought out a stupendous crawling monster of antediluvian proportions and branded it a "Goldbug," and swore that it was the Republican party and that if McKinley was chosen President this Paleozoic monster would devour the substance of us Americans as the caterpillar and the palmerworm devoured the crops of the children of Israel in the days of old. These Democratic bugaboo makers actually got up a circus, with William Jennings Bryan as the chief ringmaster and about 10,000 Democratic politicians for clowns and monkeys, and traveled all over the United States, exhibiting this horrible and awe-inspiring "Goldbug," hoping to terrorize the ignorant, to intimidate the cowardly, to demoralize the imaginative, and to create apprehension, if not conviction, in the minds of the thoughtful and the patriotic. Awful were the prophecies indulged in by Bryan and his army of clowns as they exhibited this appalling "Goldbug." Fearful were their contortions of body, face, and gestures as they portrayed the evils that would result from putting the country in possession of this all-devouring "Goldbug."

And although millions were deceived and some of the very elect were led astray, there nevertheless remained enough men, true, patriotic, wise, and brave, to overthrow the army of false prophets, with Bryan at their head, and elect to the Presidency William McKinley, the great advance agent of prosperity, the apostle of sound money, the opener of the mills, the friend of the farmer, and the champion of the American laboring man. And now that awful "Goldbug" manufactured for that great Democratic circus of three years ago is in the back yard of the Democratic junk shop, and on examination it will be found to be composed of nothing but a thin shell of Democratic brass, inflated with Populistic wind. [Laughter.]

A NEW BUGABOO BEING MADE.

And now our Democratic-Populistic adversaries are scratching their heads in an effort to invent a new bugaboo wherewith to scare the people next year. They can be seen almost any day in the Democratic junk yard looking over their old bugaboos to see if they can repair or refit any of them and use them in the next campaign. Some of them are casting lingering looks on the bugaboos of "centralization" and "military despotism," that were used by them to try to scare the people into voting against General Grant; and it is believed that out of these two bugaboos a new one will be made, to be called "imperialism," and it will be ready for use in a short time, with horns upon its head, the claws of a tiger for hands, teeth larger than a lion's, eyes red as blood and as big as saucers, cloven hoofs for feet, and a tail like the very devil's; and with this bugaboo of "imperialism" Bryan will start a new circus, and has already reengaged most of his old clowns and monkey boys. Look out for the show when you see the posters on the trees. [Laughter and applause.] Their next bugaboo will be more terrifying than Barnum's monstrous picture of the great American gyascutus. Next after Barnum, Bryan is the greatest humbug showman the world has ever produced.

The average Democratic politician always carries about him a prodigious variety of misinformation on political subjects. He is almost sure to possess a host of magnificent disqualifications for patriotic statesmanship. Among numerous other equipments he is generally armed with many brilliant intellectual deficiencies for financial discussions. His voice is almost always clothed with what he believes to be thunder, and he shakes his fist as though he thought he could hurl the lightnings of Jove. The result is that when he rushes into the arena of debate he is a most formidable adversary in appearance, and nothing delights him so much as a chance to hurl stupendous predictions of evil and bombard his opponents with terrific denunciations and anathemas, clothed in awful adjectives of the superlative degree; but, fortunately for his opponents, his predictions never hit, and his bombs of denunciation, being filled with nothing but wind, do no harm.

BRYAN'S FALSE PROPHECIES.

Every financial doctrine preached by Bryan and his free-silver apostles three years ago has been proved totally false by the inexorable and irrefutable logic of existing facts. His two great doctrines were that silver and farm products traveled hand in hand, and that if the gold standard was maintained money would become scarcer and prices and wages lower. On these two doctrines hung all of his law and all of his prophecies; but events have repealed his law and falsified his prophecies.

Silver absolutely refused to do what Bryan wanted, and wheat refused to do what silver did. Bryan and his apostles had sworn with a mighty oath that silver and wheat had been wedded in holy wedlock from the foundation of the world, and that they both traveled the same road arm in arm, in lovely and loving companionship, and that when silver fell down wheat fell with it, and that when silver rose up wheat rose also, with a smile upon its face. [Laughter.]

But lo! since Bryan's defeat wheat and silver have had a fearful quarrel, and wheat has taken one end of the road, while silver has taken the other, and now they are far apart and divorced from bed and board, if not absolutely. They seem to have turned their backs upon each other forever. How sad! Wheat seems to have said to silver:

Go, false one, go; I'd rather make
My bower upon some icy lake,
When thawing suns begin to shine,
Than trust to love so false as thine.

[Laughter.]

And silver seems to have said to wheat:

Had we never loved so kindly;
Had we never loved so blindly—
Never met or never parted,
We had ne'er been broken hearted.

[Laughter.]

SILVER DIVORCED FROM ITS SPOUSES.

Bryan, indeed, insisted that silver was a sort of polygamist and had several wives. Iron was alleged to be one of its wives and cotton another. Whatever road silver traveled, iron and cotton were charged with keeping it company, and Bryan and his free-silver apostles quoted facts and figures and introduced big books and quoted great men to prove that silver was always to be found in company not only with wheat but with iron and cotton, besides several other "old things" too numerous to mention.

But, alas! the course of true love never did run smooth; and now silver has been deserted by not only wheat, that seems to have been its favorite spouse, but by iron, and, what is worse and the most unkindest cut of all, actually deserted by cotton. Iron and cotton have gone up in price, conquering and to conquer, whereas silver has gone down in defeat and disgrace, with none of its sweethearts and mistresses to bear it company, nobody but Bryan and the Democratic party to sit up with it of nights and comfort it on its bed of affliction. [Laughter.] The silver in the American silver dollar is to-day worth only 46 cents, and is only kept at par by the gold in the Treasury and the confidence the business world has in the honesty and statesmanship of the Republican party.

WHAT THE REPUBLICANS HAVE DONE FOR SILVER.

We Republicans have done our best for silver. We passed laws to buy all that was mined in our country; we set our mints to work and coined 500,000,000 silver dollars; we sent commissioners to foreign lands to entreat other nations to join us in keeping silver on its legs; we propped up silver by crutches of gold to keep it going; but in spite of our laws to buy bullion, in spite of our enormous coinage of silver dollars, in spite of our efforts to get other nations to rally to our aid, in spite of our policy to sustain silver with gold, silver has been growing weaker and weaker in the markets of the world; it has been going down, down, down in the scale of price. The demand for it has continued to decrease and grow less until the day has now come when no enlightened nation on God's earth holds up silver as its standard of value, and we, unaided and alone, can not fight its battle against the whole world and hope to win. International bimetalism seems to be forever doomed. It is a beautiful idea, but, like the rainbow, can be seen only in the distance, and moves away from you as fast as you pursue. It is the "iridescent dream" of a financial visionary, and will never be realized in our day. The world is moving on, and we must move with it or get left.

Gold, as a matter of fact and as a matter of business, has been our standard of value for over fifty years. "As good as gold" was the saying of our people whenever the value of any other good money was called in question. And this bill only puts into law what the American people long ago put into actual everyday practice. This bill only puts into law what the American people ordered to be put into law when they elected William McKinley President of the United States three years ago, and we would have passed it before had there not been an opposition majority in the Senate.

BRYAN'S FALSE PROPHECIES.

Every prediction made by Bryan and the Democratic party three years ago has been falsified by the inexorable logic of indisputable events. Bryan and his fellow free-silver Democrats predicted that if the gold standard was adhered to the prices of all agricultural products would be so low no farmer could live by farming; that the price of labor would be so low that no laboring man could live by his labor; that money would be so high that no man in debt would be able to borrow it, and as a consequence financial ruin would be his inevitable fate. Bryan predicted that nobody would prosper but bankers; that all manufacturing establishments would either be compelled to close or to give pauper wages to their employees; that our ships would rot at our wharves for want of freights to carry; that many of our railroads would become mere streaks of rusty iron; that universal and irreparable bankruptcy would seize upon the business men of our land, and widespread and unmitigated poverty would be the doom of our people, while starvation and pestilence would stalk abroad through the land like destroying angels, bent on our utter extermination.

Prophet of evil, never hadst thou yet
A cheerful word for me. To mark the signs
Of coming mischief is thy great delight;
Good dost thou ne'er foretell nor bring to pass.

We were told that the Republican party could not be trusted, that all the usurers, all the money sharks, all the bloated bondholders, all the robber barons, all the goldbugs, all the corruptionists, all the enemies of the laboring man, and all the foes of the farmer were in the Republican party, and that if that party elected McKinley as President awful and manifold would be the calamities that would inevitably fall upon the American people, and the salt of liberty would so lose its savor that our very freedom would be like the blazonry of silks and jewels in the gloom of the grave.

PROSPERITY IN SPITE OF PROPHECY.

But out of these nettles of predicted danger have sprung the beautiful blossoms of safety and prosperity. Instead of money becoming scarcer, it has become more plentiful; instead of agricultural products going down to nothing, they have greatly increased in price; instead of laborers' wages being cut down to pauper rates, they have been greatly raised; instead of railroads having nothing to do, they have not enough cars to carry their passengers and freights; instead of our business men being ground to powder in the bankruptcy courts, they have never been happier or more prosperous; instead of our manufacturing establishments closing their doors, all of the old ones are in full blast and new ones are springing up on every hand; instead of poverty and wretchedness stalking through the land like destroying angels—instead, in short, of the vials of Heaven's wrath being poured out upon a God-cursed land, instead of this awful picture of desolation and doom painted by Bryan and the free-silver Democrats as the sure fate of our country if McKinley was elected, what do we behold? A prosperity as fair as a new Jerusalem descended from the skies, a universal acclaim of rejoicing, an era of happiness and good times seldom before experienced by our people, a spirit of progress and enterprise that is carrying our name and our products to markets never visited by us before, and a feeling of grateful contentment as high as the sky, as wide as the earth, and as deep as the sea. [Applause.]

THE GOLD STANDARD A BLESSING.

Bryan, the false prophet of free silver, told us three years ago that under a gold standard the price of all the products of the farm and the factory would go down and the wages of the laboring man would grow less and less and that the man in debt would never be able to pay out, and what Bryan said became the gospel for tens of thousands of Democratic cross-roads orators. But what are the facts? Under the gold standard nothing has gone down in price but silver and the Democratic party. Everything the farmer and manufacturer have to sell has increased in price, and labor is more generally employed and better paid than at any time under Cleveland's Democratic free-trade Administration. And more, the value of the products of the farm have increased over \$600,000,000 and the value of the products of our factories, furnaces, and rolling mills have increased from nine thousand millions in 1890 to twenty thousand millions in 1899, a rate of progress never before made in any country on earth in any period of man's history since the foundation of the world. [Applause.]

Bryan and his apostles of free silver and free trade preached three years ago that if McKinley was elected and the gold standard maintained there would be an awful dearth of money; that greenbacks, national-bank notes, silver certificates, and silver dollars would all disappear, and that no money would be left but gold, gold, gold, and that nobody would have any of that but the bankers, the millionaires, the "goldbugs," the "robber barons," and the "bloated bondholders;" that the poor man would never see a gold piece, not even if his eyes were sore, and that a few gold men would be the kings of the land and all the balance of the people no better than serfs and not as good as slaves.

MONEY MORE PLENTIFUL.

And yet what do we find as the fact? Instead of the predictions of Bryan and his free silver apostles proving true, they have proved to be totally false. Instead of money becoming scarce it has become far more plentiful, so that the amount now in circulation is about two thousand million dollars, one-half of which is gold, and the other half paper money and silver, thus giving us more money to the man than we have ever had since Columbus discovered America.

Four years ago the gold money in the United States amounted to five hundred and ninety-seven millions, whereas to-day the amount is over one thousand millions, and the larger proportion of it is in actual circulation, whereas four years ago most of our gold was locked up in the banks or hoarded secretly by the few lucky holders.

In the last four years the money in the hands of the people has increased \$620,000,000, and the amount is increasing every day and will continue to increase as long as honest money and honest men are in the land.

Notwithstanding all of Bryan's predictions have proved untrue and all of his doctrines unsound, yet the Democratic party still worship at his shrine. It is a most interesting spectacle to behold the Democratic politician's devotion to Mr. Bryan. He has become a sort of god with many of them, and when you ask them what makes them think so and so, they at once answer, "Bryan says so." In the Old Testament we read, "Thus saith the Lord." But in the new Democratic testament it is, "Thus saith Bryan." The abject devotion of the Democratic party to Bryan reminds me of the implicit faith of the little girl in her mother, when she answered a playmate's denial by saying, "It is so, because my mother says it is so; and what my mother says is so is so, even if it ain't so!" [Laughter.]

REPUBLICAN PROSPERITY IN SPITE OF DEMOCRATIC PREDICTIONS.

In spite of all the prophecies of disaster and starvation made by Bryan and his apostles three years ago, not only are the North, East, and West wonderfully prosperous, and that prosperity increasing every day, but the South is prosperous and is becoming more prosperous all the time.

To hear some of these Southern Democrats talk you would think that the South was a very land of sorrow and poverty; that its people were sitting in darkness robed in sackcloth and ashes, and that no ray of light awoke smiles upon the face of beauty or kindled a gleam in the eye of love. They seem to say to the South—

Affliction is enamored of thy parts,
And thou art wedded to calamity.

Mr. Chairman, I repudiate this picture of the South. It is monstrously false and atrociously unjust. The South to-day is more prosperous, better contented, and more hopeful than at any time since Lee's surrender. Our people are at work and at profitable work, and are happy in their work. Never have we gotten out so many thousand carloads of coal, never have so many hundreds of thousands of tons of pig iron been made, never so many millions of yards of cotton and woolen goods manufactured, never such a demand for our lumber and our marble, never so many men engaged in factory work, never so many people happy over the business outlook. Our farmers are getting good prices for all they have to sell, and our cotton planters, instead of being devoured by imaginary "goldbugs," are secretly thanking God that McKinley was elected and praying that he may be reelected. Like King Agrippa, they are almost persuaded to become Republicans! [Laughter.]

COTTON PLANTERS PROSPEROUS.

Yes, cotton is 7 cents a pound and may go up to 10. It used to be "5-cent cotton." And do you know what 7-cent cotton means? I read from the Chattanooga Times of October 9, 1899, a leading Democratic paper of the central South:

From reports received here it appears that the one thing which has been lacking during the past year to make a well-rounded and general prosperity for the Southern States has come.

Do you hear that, Mr. Chairman? "A well-rounded and general prosperity for the Southern States has come." The South is not being devoured by "goldbugs!" Here is the voice of a leading Democratic paper of the South. Note the headlines: "South's prosperity—The advance in iron had a wonderful effect—But the increase in the price of cotton will make the good times more widespread."

But I read on:

Last year the iron and other industries of the South experienced an unprecedented degree of prosperity, with the exception of the cotton trade. * * * But now the price of cotton is advancing in a remarkable way. The staple is now selling at a higher price than at any time this year or last. * * * If the present high rate continues, it will mean millions of dollars to the Southern farmers and dealers and, through them, a fine prosperity to all interests in the South. * * * To state the same fact in figures, the advance in cotton, if the price ruling last week holds, as it probably will, means that Southern planters will receive at least \$75,000,000, possibly \$100,000,000, more for this year's crop than for that of last year.

THE SOUTH HAS PROSPERITY.

And cotton has not only gone to 7 cents, but is fast crawling up to 8, and this will mean largely over \$100,000,000 added to the wealth of the South in a single year from one item alone. Considering that, according to the Times, "the iron and other industries of the South experienced an unprecedented degree of prosperity," it is no wonder that newspaper, Democratic though it be, was forced by an honest outburst of enthusiasm to exclaim—

The one thing [7-cent cotton] which has been lacking during the past year to make a well-rounded and general prosperity for the Southern States has come!

Yes, Mr. Chairman, "a well-rounded and general prosperity for the Southern States has come."

I could read from other Southern Democratic papers to the same effect, but will content myself by reading an extract from a South Carolina paper, the Columbia State. It says:

Never before in this country has there been a time of such push and enterprise in the towns as we have now, and as a natural consequence never before has there been such rapid growth as the towns in our State are making to-day. * * * This is going to be a great year for Columbia.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, not only "a great year" for Columbia, S. C., but a great year for that greater Columbia which is our whole country. [Applause.] Everywhere throughout the South the bells of joy are ringing in the hearts of the masses of the people. Only the Democratic politicians are unhappy. There are certain weeds that seem to grow only on the refuse heaps in our back yards and in low places, and so Democratic politicians in the South sometimes flourish best where there is most rubbish and most ruins and under cloudy skies, whereas the sun of prosperity causes them to wither and to fade.

PROSPERITY IN TENNESSEE.

We are wonderfully prosperous all through the South. In my district the output of the coal mines is only limited by the capacity of the railroads to haul it away. Our furnaces and rolling mills are all in full blast, our marble quarries are shipping enormous quantities of our beautiful marbles all over the land, our lumber mills are all at work, our cotton and woolen mills are doing better than ever before, all of our other factories are running to their full capacities, our merchants are doing a most gratifying business, new enterprises are being constantly started or projected, our railroads have not sufficient rolling stock to move our freights, money is more plentiful than for years, the farmers are getting good prices for all they have to sell, and the laboring classes are all employed. Not even our Democrats, few and far between as they are and possessed of magnifying eyes to a marvelous degree as they seem to be, can find any fault, and if it were not for the offices it is safe to say that nine out of every ten of them would renounce the Democratic party and all its works and join the Republican hosts amid glad hosannas of praise and thanksgiving. [Laughter and applause.]

And I say here boldly that a very large proportion of the business men of the South—Democratic business men, I mean—are in favor of this bill. In their private and business talks they utter Republican sentiments, they favor a protective tariff and a gold standard—yes, and are for national expansion also, and tens of thousands of them would vote the Republican ticket if that awful bugaboo of "negro supremacy" did not stand between them and the ballot box.

THE SOUTH FULL OF HOPE AND NOT DESPAIR.

The South is no region of despair, overhung by a starless sky. Its gateway is no battle-scarred, prisonlike iron door, with a rusty lock and a clanking chain, surrounded by tottering walls and thunder-blasted trees, bearing on its archway the inscription Dante saw over the gate of hell—

All hope abandon, ye who enter here.

On the contrary, Mr. Chairman, the gateway to the South is as fair as the entrance to Eden; its pillars of grand proportions, wreathed about with flowering vines; its surroundings suggestive of beauty, happiness, and enterprise, where "every prospect pleases" and nothing vile can be found, and on its gorgeous archway, in letters of shining gold and artistic form, these words:

The Southland, earth's new Eden,
Blessed are they who enter here.

And when you enter, hope will be your guide, fortune will be your opportunity and success your crown of reward.

Nowhere are there such grand inducements for the intelligent investment of capital; nowhere such a splendid future for enterprise and industry; nowhere such magnificent business prospects as in this superb region of the South, the garden of the world.

THE ENORMOUS GROWTH OF BUSINESS.

To show the stupendous increase in the business of the United States I call attention to the clearing-house reports, which show that their business for 1896 aggregated thirty-seven thousand million dollars, while their business for 1899 aggregates sixty-nine thousand million dollars; so that for every \$100 paid in 1896 \$186 were paid in 1899, thus showing that the business of our country

to-day is nearly twice as great as it was when McKinley was elected President.

Another unerring evidence of the enormous increase of business is the fact that money orders issued by the post-offices of the United States have increased more than \$20,000,000 a year.

The Agricultural Department estimates that the value of farm animals in the United States has increased in the last two years \$342,000,000, which is just that much more in the hands of our farmers.

And, wonder of wonders, we are now shipping to foreign lands more than \$1,000,000 worth of manufactured goods every day in the year, our total exports of all kinds, breadstuffs and meats included, amounting to over one thousand million dollars for this good year of 1899.

And all this marvelous growth has been accomplished while William Jennings Bryan and his horde of Democratic politicians have been going to and fro in the earth and up and down in it, preaching 16 to 1 and filling the land with predictions about the tremendous and appalling calamities sure to come upon the country because of the gold standard and the protective tariff of the Republican party. The Democratic politicians howl and bark, but the procession moves on all the same with the Republican party at its head and McKinley as its great captain. [Applause.]

DEMOCRATS ADMIT WE ARE PROSPEROUS.

Many Democratic politicians admit the country is prosperous; they admit it because they are obliged to admit it; they admit it with awfully wry faces; but they admit it nevertheless. They hold the admission in their mouths as long as possible, but all you have to do is to fish for it with a direct question and you will hook it on the point of your interrogation and draw it forth.

The fact that our country is prosperous has been admitted by the great Democratic newspapers all over the country. It has been admitted by the great Democratic leaders on the floor of this House. It is the one great, indisputable, magnificent fact of the year 1899. It is grandly apparent all over the land. It shines in the towns and cities. It is apparent on every well-managed farm. It gleams in the eyes of the laboring man. It roars in every factory. It bursts forth in smoke and flame from every smokestack. It thunders along every railroad with its loaded trains and laboring locomotives. It cuts the waters of lake, river, and ocean in front of every steamboat and steamship. It inspires happy songs in all the cotton and corn fields of the South, and all the hives of human industry in the North. It lifts the mortgage from the humble home and makes glad its inmates. It fills our schools with merry children and crowds our colleges with studious youths. It fills the whole land with blessedness as the waters fill the great deeps of the ocean, and inspires hope in many a heart that had long harbored the black vulture of despair. [Applause.]

DEMOCRATIC EXPLANATIONS OF OUR PROSPERITY.

And the great business now of Democratic politicians is trying to show that this prosperity is not the result of Republican policies and Republican administration. Some of them say that our present great prosperity is the result of an accident! I am sorry that this sort of accident did not happen under the last Democratic Administration. Some say that our prosperity is due to the Spanish and Philippine wars. But our prosperity had sprouted and was growing rapidly before either of these wars began.

Some say that our present extraordinary prosperity is caused by the enormous amount of gold mined in the world. But if that be so, it is only a fulfillment of the predictions of the Republican party that there would be enough gold mined and minted to do the business of the world. And, finally, we have heard a prominent Democratic member on this floor rise in his place and ask the question whether the Republican party or the Almighty is the author of our great prosperity. Uncle Mose, an old negro preacher, was once asked by a Democratic orator in Virginia if the Almighty and not the Republicans did not free the negro. "Yes," replied Uncle Mose, scratching his gray head, "I s'pose the Almighty did do it, but these Republicans helped Him a heap, I tell you." [Laughter.]

The Almighty always blesses those who work in accordance with His eternal laws of reason and righteousness, and the reason the country is more prosperous under Republican rule than under Democratic rule is that the Republicans conform their policies and legislation to the eternal verities of the Almighty, instead of pandering to the passions and prejudices of sections and special interests. We have been told from our boyhood that honesty is the best policy. The Republican party has builded its financial house on this rock, and the gates of hell, and the Democratic party will never prevail against it. [Applause.]

DEMOCRATS EXPERTS IN EXPLANATION.

The Democratic politicians are great explainers. Indeed, they are the very best explainers in the world. They are experts in explanation. They have had more experience in explaining than any other people in the world, personal, political, or professional. It is true that they generally—

Puzzle by their explanations
And darken by their elucidations.

Nevertheless, the strong point with the average Democratic politician is his capacity for explanation and elucidation.

And now they are trying to explain the high price of agricultural products, especially cotton and stock; they are trying to explain the advance in wages and the increase in price of iron and steel; they are trying to explain the enormous increase in the bulk of business; they are doing their best to elucidate how it is that the ratio in value between gold and silver has gone down from 16 to 1 to 34 to 1, notwithstanding their assertion four years ago that the Almighty had made the ratio 16 to 1 and it was not in the power of man to change it!

I heard of a Democrat who was throwing up to a Republican that McKinley's election had not kept wheat up to a dollar. "I know that," said the Republican, "but you Democrats don't understand things. McKinley don't work in the same line all the time. He first worked in wheat, then he worked in iron, and now he is working in cattle, horses, and cotton." [Laughter.] So McKinleyism helps everybody. [Applause.]

McKINLEY'S ADMINISTRATION COMPARED WITH CLEVELAND'S.

I do not wish to close my remarks, Mr. Chairman, without drawing some contrasts between the Administration of President Cleveland and the Administration of President McKinley. Cleveland, you know, was supposed to be a sort of Democratic god. He was believed to be perfect, and could do no wrong. He set himself up as the champion of free trade, and under his Administration free trade was given a fair trial, and you know, and the American people know, with what result.

Under Cleveland's Democratic free-trade Administration we had to sell bonds to get money to run the Government, while under McKinley's Republican protection and gold-standard Administration we have such a surplus of money in the Treasury that we are using it to pay off our bonds and thus decrease the national debt.

Under Cleveland's Democratic free-trade Administration we bought millions of pounds of steel and iron from foreign lands, while under McKinley's Republican protection and gold-standard Administration we are selling millions of pounds of steel and iron in foreign lands, and are building steel bridges in Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America, to the astonishment of the balance of the world.

Under the last year of Cleveland's Democratic free-trade Administration the total imports and exports of the United States were thirteen hundred million dollars, while under the last year of McKinley's Republican protection and gold-standard Administration the total imports and exports have reached the enormous aggregate of two thousand million dollars.

Under Cleveland's Democratic free-trade Administration the farmers of the United States managed to live only by mortgaging their farms and sacrificing their stock, while under McKinley's Republican protection and gold-standard Administration the farmer's have got such good prices for their products and stock that many have been able not only to live comfortably but to pay themselves out of debt.

FREE TRADE VS. PROTECTION AND THE GOLD STANDARD.

Under Cleveland's Democratic free-trade Administration it became necessary to borrow \$262,000,000 to obtain gold wherewith to maintain the gold reserve and pay the current expenses of the Government, and that, too, while we were at peace with all the world, while under McKinley's Republican protection and gold-standard Administration we have millions of gold in the Treasury and have paid many millions of our indebtedness besides, and that, too, while carrying on two great wars, one requiring over 200,000 additional troops and the other requiring 75,000 more, besides immense enlargements in our naval forces and twenty millions paid for the Philippines and three millions paid the Cuban soldiers. [Applause.]

Under Cleveland's Democratic free-trade Administration there were such multitudes of laboring men thrown out of employment by the Democratic free-trade hard times that it was necessary to open houses where they and their children could get soup and bread to save them from starvation, while under McKinley's Republican protection and gold-standard Administration laboring men get plenty of work at good wages, and many of them are not only supporting their families and schooling their children, but are saving up money for the future. [Applause.]

THE DEMOCRATIC WAR ON SHEEP AND AMERICAN TIN.

Under Cleveland's Democratic free-trade Administration war was declared against the American sheep, and the price of American wool became so low that hundreds of thousands of our sheep were slaughtered because it was unprofitable to keep them, while under McKinley's Republican protection gold-standard Administration the American sheep has been befriended, American wool has doubled in price, and the sheep have immensely increased in number and value.

The free-trade Democrats swore by Grover Cleveland and all their other gods that we could not make tin plate in this country, and if we did the price would be so high that a poor man would not be able to buy a coffeepot or tin cup, and that the price of all

canned goods would be enormously increased, whereas under Republican protection tariffs over three thousand million pounds of tin have been manufactured in the United States and the price is one-fourth less than it was when the McKinley bill was passed. [Applause.]

DEMOCRATIC POLITICIANS AND RICH MEN.

The Democratic politicians seem to be anxious to destroy all the rich men in the land who are Republicans. They would inaugurate a general and indiscriminate massacre of them all. It seems to be no crime for a man to be rich if he is a Democrat; but if he is a Republican he should be tried by drumhead court-martial and shot at once.

Where there is great prosperity there are apt to be some rich men who will profit by it; but while trying to prevent anybody becoming rich you may prevent the country from becoming prosperous.

I once heard of a half-witted negro boy whose duty it was to keep the flies off his master while he slept. The boy grew tired of his task, and, seeing a great many flies on his master's face, got a big rock and, creeping up softly, threw it with great violence against his master's face. He killed a great many of the flies, but he killed his master also. So these Democrats pass laws to kill off the rich, but in so doing they kill prosperity also. We had a sample of this when Cleveland was President. [Applause.] Where the carcass is there will the eagles be also, and where there is blood there will be bloodsuckers; but is it not better to have blood and some bloodsuckers than to have no blood and no bloodsuckers?

PROSPERITY IN SPITE OF DEMOCRATIC DENUNCIATIONS.

And thus it will be seen, Mr. Chairman, that all of the predictions of the Democratic party for the last forty years have proved untrue and all of their denunciations have proved undeserved. This being so, their predictions and denunciations now fail to have any effect on me, and I do not believe they will have any effect on the country. They are the same predictions and denunciations the Democrats make in every campaign. In their sight we Republicans are always very bad men, always belong to the wicked and corrupt money sharks, and are always in a conspiracy to ruin the American people. In their own sight the Democratic politicians are always patriots without guile, always honest and wise, and always trying to rescue the people from the remorseless grasp of the money power.

But we will find one year from now, after this bill has become a law, that all of these Democratic predictions of evil are just as false as all of their former predictions have proved to be. We will find one year from now that our country will still be prosperous, that the people still have confidence in us, and that with McKinley chosen President for a second term, and a strong Republican majority in both Houses of Congress, Bryanism and free silver will be forever things of the past, and the verdict of impartial history will be that the United States of America, as the foremost nation of all the world, will owe its exalted position to the wisdom, the patriotism, the honesty, the courage, and the enterprise of the Republican party. [Applause.]

Mr. BREAZEALE. Mr. Chairman, I rise to record in the name of Louisiana her protest against the passage of this most iniquitous measure. I use that word advisedly. It is iniquitous not only in its provisions, but it is iniquitous in its treachery to the American people. Scarcely three years ago some 13,000,000 people, almost the entire voting strength of the American people, registered their ballots in favor of bimetalism. The Democratic party in its national platform spoke out strong and sharp for silver; in unmistakable terms it demanded that the money of this country should be gold and silver in the ratio of 16 to 1. Some 6,000,000 people voted for the inauguration of that system. They adopted the true American doctrine, the true American principle, that this country was grand enough and great enough to inaugurate that system without the assistance of any other country or nation on the face of God's green earth.

The Republican platform announced the doctrine that they favored bimetalism, but upon the pitiful, puny plea that we were not great and strong and powerful enough to inaugurate that system unless we had the help of the European nations; and it remained for a poor little handful of so-called Democrats—some 180,000—to vote squarely and plainly for the gold system.

Now, I submit, Mr. Chairman, that out of the entire vote cast three years ago only this pitiful 180,000 or 200,000 favored the gold system as the monetary system of this great Republic. The remaining 13,000,000 favored bimetalism. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, you have no warrant from the American people for the passage of this measure. On the contrary, you have the absolute statement by the people themselves that they favored bimetalism; and to-day you propose to carry through this measure and choke it down the throats of the American people, because you have seen the handwriting on the wall and know that unless you do it to-day this is your last chance and you will never have the opportunity again to do it.

You take advantage of this wave of prosperity now, believing that you can pass this measure and that there will be nothing said about it at the approaching election by the American people. But I say, Mr. Chairman, that you are counting without your host. Lay not the flatteringunction to your soul that you can commit this crime with impunity. The American people have never forgiven treachery; and if this be not treachery of the most damnable kind, I do not know what it is.

Now, passing from the general aspect of the bill to its provisions, show me, I ask you, where you will find any such unwarranted power was ever given or was ever proposed to be given in this House as is given by this bill to the Secretary of the Treasury. The Secretary of the Treasury is vested with such absolute power that it appalls any thoughtful, any patriotic, man to contemplate. Think for a second what power section 4 of the bill confers upon the Secretary of the Treasury of this great country. It invests him with authority to maintain the gold reserve, which I understand will be about \$120,000,000, by the issuance of bonds at his sweet will and at the dictates of his judgment.

Without restriction, without safeguard, the unlimited power is vested in the Secretary of the Treasury to pile up the bonded debt of the nation as his judgment, good, bad, or indifferent, may dictate. The fathers who framed the organic law contemplated no such violation of this spirit. They intended no such power to be vested in any one man, and this most extraordinary grant of authority to the Secretary of the Treasury will receive the unanimous condemnation of the people in 1890.

Mr. Chairman, no less objectionable is that section of the bill which increases the power of the national banks. The existing laws on this subject are bad enough in all conscience, but under the terms of this act the Government surrenders her rights to control the monetary system of the nation to the tender mercies of the national banks, which, under the extraordinary power granted by this act, can inflate and contract the currency of the nation at will. In my humble judgment this is a crime of the worst character and unequalled in the history of this Republic.

Mr. Chairman, the passage of this measure is a complete surrender by the Government to the money power of the nation and furnishes the completed evidence of the charge that the Republican party owed its success in 1896 to the money power and to-day is paying the debt contracted in that election.

I thank God, Mr. Chairman, that it is not the Democratic party that is guilty of this crime, of this treachery. I thank God, sir, that it is not the Democratic party that seeks to chain this nation, like Prometheus to the rock, that the money power may plunge its golden talons into its quivering vitals and gorge itself on the sufferings of the people. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I will plant my feet in the footprints of the fathers, where there is no danger of stumbling or going astray. The purposes of the present bill are apparent. The first section declares and establishes the single gold standard. The second section makes all obligations, public and private, payable in gold only. The third section establishes in the Treasury Department a division to be known as the division of "issue and redemption." The fourth section is a command upon the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain the gold reserve, or redemption fund, and gives him unlimited and unconditional power for that purpose to issue and sell bonds of the United States, bearing interest at a rate not to exceed 3 per cent, payable in gold coin, at the end of twenty years, but reserving the right in the Government to redeem them after one year. Also, that all greenbacks and notes issued under the act of 1890, and known as Sherman notes, when received into the Treasury, shall not be reissued except for gold, and that silver certificates shall not be reissued in denominations above \$5.

The remainder of the bill extends the power of national banks and authorizes them to receive from the Government the par value of the bonds deposited in currency notes, and greatly reduces the tax against the banks. These are but the general features of the bill, but the bill in its entire scope and meaning is revolutionary, and means a complete change in our monetary affairs. The second section of the bill uses the following language:

That all interest-bearing obligations of the United States for the payment of money, now existing or hereafter to be entered into, and all United States notes and Treasury notes issued under the law of July 14, 1890, shall be deemed and held payable in the gold coin of the United States as defined in section 1 of this act; and all other obligations, public and private, for the payment of money shall be performed in conformity with the standard established in said section [gold].

The interest-bearing bonded indebtedness of the United States is \$1,046,000,000, all payable in coin (gold or silver). If this bill passes, all these bonds will thereafter be payable in gold only. Now, if Mr. Cleveland's statement holds good, and he spoke by authority, this will increase the value of these outstanding bonds in the sum of \$261,500,000, which means that that vast sum of money is to be taken out of the pockets of the people by legislation and presented to the bondholders as a gift from the honest

and industrious people of the country. And yet gentlemen on the other side boast of Republican integrity and friendship for the masses of the people. May Heaven spare my people from such friendship.

This section of the bill is a fraud on the taxpayers of this country. Every bond of the United States is payable in coin, either gold or silver, and this section of the bill changes the contract and requires the Government to pay them in gold only. It is a dishonest concession to the bondholder, one they do not deserve and one they should not have. It is an iniquity upon the people that should not be perpetrated.

When Cleveland sold \$62,000,000 in bonds, before doing so, in a special message to Congress, he stated that if Congress would authorize gold bonds to be sold instead of the coin bonds then authorized by law that the Government would gain by so doing \$16,000,000. In other words, the \$62,000,000 of bonds payable in gold would be worth \$16,000,000 more than if payable in coin.

And, Mr. Chairman, this same principle will affect the entire mortgage indebtedness of the country, corporate, municipal, and private, and will cost the debtors of the country countless millions more than they contracted to pay. For them to pay less than they owe would be dishonest and to compel them to pay more is extortion.

In a speech which I had the honor to deliver in this House in March, 1898, upon this subject, in giving a history of the conduct of the creditors of the Government I made the following statement, which I repeat here:

"Mr. Speaker, a history of the concessions already made by this Government to its creditors is enough to bleach with shame the cheeks of every man who loves fair dealings and approves of common honesty. First, the depreciated currency at the close of the war was bought up by speculators at a discount ranging from 40 to 60 per cent and exchanged for the bonds of the Government at full face value. These bonds were payable in the lawful money of the United States.

"On March 16, 1869, a law was passed making these bonds payable in coin, without any additional consideration being paid to the Government. The greenbacks at that time were good enough for the citizen, the merchant, and the soldier, but the debts due the bondholders were made payable in coin. Ever restless, ever grasping, these creditors secured the passage of the act of 1870, and after its provisions were put in force they were securely entrenched with all their holdings. At this time the bonded debt of the Government was largely owned in foreign countries.

"Not satisfied with this liberal treatment on the part of the Government, not satisfied with doubling their investments, but inspired by their greed and encouraged by their successful plundering of the people, they and their allies set on foot the conspiracy which resulted in the demonetization of silver in 1873. And, Mr. Chairman, no conspiracy to overthrow a kingdom or plunder its people was ever pursued to consummation with more secrecy and less regard for human rights. And yet these people and their mouthpieces upon this floor declare with apparent candor that it would be 'repudiation and dishonor' to pay these bonds in the money of the contract.

"To me, Mr. Chairman, the failure of the Government to enforce the terms of this contract would be treason against the Government and a repudiation of the rights of the sovereign people. This, Mr. Chairman, is my opinion now and will be as long as I believe in the integrity of contracts and the right of the debtor to discharge his contract as he agreed to do."

Mr. Chairman, I feel that I could not be just either to myself or the patriotic and industrious people I have the honor to represent should I fail to oppose by all honorable means the passage of this bill. I know in advance that any arguments that may be advanced on this side of the House, it matters not how sound and conclusive they may be, will not be heeded by those on the other side, who have surrendered in advance the birthright of the people to the money changers and bondholders of the country.

The very first section of the bill declaring and establishing the single gold standard in the United States bodes greater evil to the agricultural and laboring classes of this country—indeed, to the nation itself—than any legislation that has heretofore been boldly proposed by a great political party.

Those of us who have continuously and persistently urged upon Congress the justice and right of the equal coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 have been met at every point by the argument that the agitation of the money question disturbed the business interests of the country, and that it ought not to be done; that if we would only let the money question rest prosperity and happiness stood ready to bless every home in the land. And now these very men who have pressed with such earnestness these arguments are no sooner in control of Congress and the Executive than they begin the agitation of the money question in the most radical manner.

You propose by this bill in the most defiant way to establish in this country gold monometallism as completely as legislation can do it.

In the beginning of this conspiracy (I can not call it by any other name) against the industrial and producing classes of this country nothing was done openly. The people were deceived and misled at every step. The act demonetizing silver passed in 1873 came like a thief at night, and was not understood by the people for years after its passage. And after it was known and understood by the people, and as late as 1888, the Republicans in their national platform declared "that the Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money."

And in 1892 you declared in your national platform "that the American people from tradition and interest favored bimetalism, and the Republican party demands the use of both gold and silver as standard money." Such were the declarations of the Republican party. When it was charged by a deceived and injured people that it was in favor of the gold standard, it was denied on stump and in platform. Now you step out into the open and propose to establish by law the gold standard and to make all obligations, both public and private, payable in gold only.

Mr. Chairman, since the beginning of the discussion of the silver question in recent years, every man almost who opposed the free coinage of silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 did so protesting that he was a bimetalist and a greater friend of silver than those who favored free coinage. I remember very well in my first race for Congress that when I would charge my Republican opponent and his party with being "gold bugs" and in favor of the single gold standard, they would grow indignant in their denials and protest their friendship for silver. They were then either deceived themselves or attempting to deceive the people. Where will they stand now that the issue is unmasked? My predictions then are now demonstrated. I stand to-day where I stood then, opposed to banks of issue, opposed to the single gold standard, and in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present legal ratio. And if this bill passes it will bear the prints of sorrow. It may not come to-day nor to-morrow, but come it will as certain as the years roll on.

This means that all the debts and commercial transactions of the country must rest upon gold for their final payment. Gold being the standard will in fact, as well as law, should this bill pass, be the only money of final payment.

I think, therefore, Mr. Chairman, that we might profit by a comparison of the amount of gold we will have with the amount of debts we must pay. The following estimate of our debts will be found to be substantially correct:

Present interest-bearing bond indebtedness.

Bonded debt of the United States	\$1,300,000,000
Bonded debt of railroads	5,655,000,000
Mortgage debt, secured on real estate (census of 1890)	6,019,000,000
Bonds issued by organized industrial trusts, not less than	4,000,000,000
State, municipal, and other corporate bonded debt, more than	1,000,000,000

Giving a total of \$18,000,000,000 in round numbers. Interest on this vast sum at 5 per cent will amount to \$900,000,000 per year; which must be paid annually or at shorter periods.

In addition to this taxes were collected last year as follows:

Customs	\$208,000,000
Internal revenue	273,000,000

Total

479,000,000

Making a grand total of corporate and national debts and taxes to be paid annually of \$1,376,000,000. The amount of gold and gold certificates now in circulation, as shown by the Treasurer's report, is \$762,244,252, about one-half as much as the national taxes and interest on the national and corporate indebtedness for one year, and only one twenty-fifth of the debt as shown above.

In addition to this our commercial transactions in the United States in one year will amount to more than \$70,000,000,000, so that this vast annual charge, as well as our vast commercial transactions, must rest upon the narrow basis of about \$700,000,000 in money of final payment.

Much of this debt is held abroad, and the money for its payment may have to be drawn from our small supply of gold and shipped to foreign countries to meet these demands.

The \$90,000,000 of bullion certificates can no longer be used for this purpose, not even in the payment of private contracts. The \$346,000,000 of greenbacks can not be used in the payment of these; they must be paid in gold. But, Mr. Chairman, this is not all. The bill does not stop here, but it establishes a bureau of "issue and redemption." This bureau, Mr. Chairman, is a jail in which to confine the bullion certificates, issued under the Sherman law, and the greenbacks, from which they will never be released. It is only an indirect way of permanently retiring the greenbacks, amounting to \$346,000,000, and Treasury notes of 1890, amounting to \$90,000,000, and converting the \$400,000,000 of silver certificates into denominations of \$5 and less.

This money of the people, representing the credit and sovereignty of the Government, is to be retired from circulation and the volume of our currency contracted more than \$400,000,000. This greenback, which was a stay to the nation in time of war and that has contributed so much to the convenience and happiness of

the people, is not only to meet its death, but must die from perpetual imprisonment in the division of "issue and redemption."

Not only that, but the Secretary of the Treasury will have the power under this bill to redeem the silver dollars in gold, thus completely destroying the legal-tender quality of all money except gold, and instead of having legal-tender silver dollars as money, they will constitute a charge against the gold redemption fund. So we will have greenbacks, silver, Treasury notes of 1890, and currency certificates, amounting in all to about \$950,000,000, all redeemable in gold, that may be, at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, redeemed, and gold bonds issued, if necessary, for every dollar with which to redeem them. Such a proposition, to my mind, Mr. Chairman, is not only monstrous but criminal. [Applause on Democratic side.]

But let us go a step further. We have seen, as stated before, that the total amount of gold belonging to the people is \$762,244,252. Under this bill a reserve fund of at least one hundred and fifty millions must be maintained by the Government. Under the present law national banks are required also to keep a reserve fund, which on the 7th day of September, 1899, amounted to \$630,789,147, which is \$18,544,925 more than all the gold in the United States belonging to the people. So with the silver money and certificates and the greenbacks out of the way, the national banks will have an absolute monopoly of the currency of the country.

Mr. Chairman, we hear much of trusts and monopolies these days. The people are being robbed and plundered in every direction—the Standard Oil trust and the sugar trust laying tribute upon every home in the land; the beef trust raising the price of meat until it will take a bushel of wheat or 2 bushels of corn to pay for a respectable beefsteak.

The Federal Steel Company, with a capital of \$200,000,000; the American Steel and Wire Company, which have in the last few months arbitrarily advanced the price of their products from 50 to 150 per cent. And this is only a few of the unlawful combinations that are ruthlessly plundering the people. These corporations and trusts that have amassed these great fortunes, not by labor and toil, but by favoritism and protection under the law, now filch from the people their hard-earned dollars, and defy them, and ignore and override the laws made for their control.

They have destroyed many villages and towns by buying up and otherwise closing independent factories. They have turned the laborer back from their closed doors and smokeless furnaces. Already they have discharged more than a hundred thousand commercial travelers, and are fast reducing the remaining number. They not only control the price of many articles of commerce, but dictate to the retail merchant what price he shall make to his customers. Large department houses are fast taking the place of the smaller retail merchants. In fact, they are becoming the masters; all others, the servants.

And yet, Mr. Chairman, in the face of this situation, blind to the teachings of the past, and unmindful of the oppressions of the people, the present Administration proposes to put this bill through Congress under the gag rule, with limited debate, to charter the greatest trust known to the world—the banking trust—and give to it unlimited power over the currency of the country; power to expand or contract the currency at will; power not only over the business of the country, but power to destroy the country.

The great banking houses in New York will be the headquarters for this trust, and the smaller banks throughout the country will be but the satellites and lieutenants of this great institution to carry out its orders. And the division of "issue and redemption" established by this bill will be the signal station for this trust and for the gamblers and stockbrokers throughout the country.

And, Mr. Chairman, if this signal station should sound the alarm, then banks under the operation of this bill could in a few days paralyze the business of this country. Who is it that does not remember the panic of 1893? The banks called in all their loans, and no man could borrow a dollar. The country was without means to carry on its business. Labor was unemployed, and commerce was at a standstill, and how much more severe may be the stroke under this bill.

THE NATIONAL BANKS THE POWER BEHIND THE THRONE.

On October 31, 1899, there were 3,601 national banks in the United States, with an authorized capital stock of \$608,528,045. And these banks had on deposit with the Treasurer \$332,463,160 in bonds and \$5,562,170 lawful money as a security for their circulation. Under the law as it now stands, the national banks may deposit with the Treasurer of the United States United States bonds and receive in bank currency 90 per cent of their par value.

Under the present bill, if it should become a law, they can receive a dollar in bank currency for every dollar in bonds so deposited. When the bonds are so deposited the bank not only receives the full par value of the bonds in bank currency, but the Government pays to the banks all interest accruing on the bonds so deposited. So if a bank should deposit in the Treasury \$100,000

in bonds bearing 3 per cent interest, the Government would pay the bank \$3,000 a year interest on its bonds, and turn over to the bank, in addition thereto, \$100,000 in bank currency, to be loaned to the people at whatever rate of interest they could secure.

These bonds and this currency are free from the burdens of taxation that often bears so heavily upon other property. Mr. Chairman, if I may be permitted, I will indulge for a few minutes in a brief review of the history of banks of issue. The history of the old United States Bank, which was chartered in the early days of the Republic, was so conspicuous for its evil effects upon the country that it ought to suffice to render the name national bank forever odious to the American people. Its record for criminal conduct against the people and the Government was and still remains without a parallel. Its evil effects upon the finances of the country were most disastrous.

Jackson, seeing its baleful effects, determined to save the Government by destroying the bank. And in one of the most memorable political contests in history he destroyed the bank and saved the Government. The next banking act was passed by Congress in 1864, in the midst of the civil war; but even then the effort was made to conceal the name and real purposes of the act. So the bill was passed with this significant title: "To provide a national currency secured by a pledge of United States bonds, and to provide for the circulation thereof."

The acts of 1791 and 1816, chartering the United States Bank, plainly stated in the title the purpose of the act, but neither the title nor the act of 1864 disclosed the name "bank;" on the contrary, the companies chartered by it were called "associations." This was done for the evident purpose of concealing from the people the fact that national banks had been established. And no sooner had they been established than they began a war against the greenbacks which has been kept up until this good day. In 1874 this charter act was amended, and was entitled "The national bank act," which act the bill under consideration seeks to amend.

There is, Mr. Chairman, and ever will be a ceaseless conflict between banks of issue and money coined or issued by the Government, for the reason that every dollar of money that can be destroyed or withdrawn from circulation makes room for as many dollars of bank money. Or, to state the proposition in another way, if there were sufficient money in circulation to meet all the demands of trade, bank money would have no place in our financial system; but if all or a part of the money necessary to meet the demands of trade be wanting, then bank money comes into use.

This conflict, Mr. Chairman, has ever been the disturbing element in our financial system and will continue to be until the banks are destroyed or until they become the supreme masters of the Government and the people.

It was the banks that determined upon the destruction of the greenbacks. It was the banks that forced the contests against silver. And if this bill shall become a law they will be complete victors over the Constitution and the people. The free coinage of gold and silver in this country never would have been interrupted but for the influence upon our finances of the banks and their allies, the bondholders.

But, Mr. Chairman, this is no new contest. It is but the same contest that has been waged since the foundation of the Government, in one form or the other, by special and privileged classes seeking to seize the powers and functions of the Government and then appropriate them to their own use. This same power has levied taxes upon our people for the benefit of the favored ones.

It has secured in the past to favorites of the Government land grants of more than 200,000,000 acres of the public domain. This same power wrung from the hands of the Supreme Court of the United States a decision declaring the income-tax law unconstitutional, overturning the decisions of that court for a century, thus relieving the wealth of the country from the burdens of taxation.

And, Mr. Chairman, the effort to pass this bill is but the same old conflict waged against the money of the country by private banking corporations and the bondholding element of the country, seeking to deprive the Government of its highest sovereignty—that of its power to issue and coin money for the benefit of the people—and appropriate that power for their own gain.

These banks, Mr. Chairman, have a most cunning way of transacting their business. To illustrate: On September 7, 1899, the liabilities of the national banks on account of deposits were \$3,031,463,016—five times as much as their paid-up capital; and on the same day they had loans and overdrafts outstanding amounting to \$2,500,000,000—more than four times as much as their capital stock and one and one-half times more money than all the money in the United States. So it may be seen that they were loaning at interest, at one time, all the money they had and all that everybody else had and a thousand million dollars more than all the money in all the country.

If, Mr. Chairman, these corporations under existing law can, by the use of certificates of deposit and checks, or by some sort of necromancy in bookkeeping, manage to collect interest on all the money in the country, what may they not do if given the extended

privileges contained in this bill? How long will it be until these grasping and insatiate corporations will not only control but own the country?

How apt are the words of Jackson at this point. In speaking of the old United States Bank he said:

The bold effort the present bank has made to control the Government, the distress it has wantonly produced, are but premonitions of the fate that awaits the American people should they be deluded into a perpetuation of this institution or the establishment of another like it.

And what impelled the immortal Jefferson to most solemnly declare that "I sincerely believe that banking institutions are more dangerous than standing armies"? These solemn statements, made by these, the two greatest statesmen and patriots known to American history, ought to be a sufficient warning to cause this Congress to hesitate long before taking the fatal step.

This is not all, Mr. Chairman. The passage of this bill means the indefinite postponement of the payment of our national bonded debt, as well as its enlargement. The banks must have the bonds, and their influence will be sufficient to extend their payment indefinitely. And as they may need more bonds the finances will be so manipulated by them as to compel their issue. And from year to year we will go on paying millions of dollars in interest without any promise of relief.

But this is not all. We have promise of much more legislation by this Congress not in the interest of the people. The Payne-Hanna ship-subsidy bill is to be brought before Congress for consideration, and we have been informed that orders have been issued that it must pass. By its terms the people are to be taxed from \$75,000,000 to \$150,000,000 annually, to be given as a bonus to the shipowners of the country. The standing Army is to be largely increased, to see, I suppose, that the trusts and combines are not molested while plundering the people.

I had some hope, Mr. Chairman, when I came to this Congress that the Republican majority would consent to some legislation in the interest of the great army of honest, industrious people upon the farm and in the shop and following other lines of labor; but day by day I learn that no laws upon that line are to be passed. There is to be no modification of the exacting tariff laws that stand like a stone wall around the trusts.

The war-revenue tax is to remain to burden and harass the people. The farmer and laborer are to be forgotten in the mad rush toward commercial and military imperialism. The trusts and combines, with a king—the bank trust—to command their cohorts, are to be unbridled and turned loose upon the people, while the people themselves have no day in the legislative halls of this country.

Mr. Chairman, I entertain no hostility to legitimate capital. I would encourage its use and investment in developing not only the great resources of my own State, but of all the country. It is the friend of labor and of the people, and I would not only encourage it, but protect it. But it is the enormous aggregations of capital that seek not to build up, but to tear down—that seek by means of its great power to oppress the people—that I would crush. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

I would put iron bits in the mouth of relentless greed. I would chain the green-eyed monster, Avarice, and free the people from their oppression and wrong.

I would encourage and favor legitimate capital and its investment in the industries and business of the country in such a way as to be profitable to its owner and at the same time bless mankind.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I desire to say that my sympathies and my heart are with the man who by honest effort and honest labor, in an open and fair contest, wins his way in life. My father was one of the common people. By his strong arm and honest heart he helped to build up my native State. I grew to manhood under his care and tutelage; I stood by him when he was called to his reward, and after he was gone, inspired by his life and sacred memory, and in honor of his independent and stalwart manhood, I resolved that I, myself, would be one of the common people, that their cause should be my cause, that all who sought to oppress them should be my enemies; not that I hated them, but because of their injustice; and by this resolution I have lived. And faithful to its obligations I shall continue to be as long as the struggle for right, justice, and liberty shall last and I shall live.

I will plant my feet in the footprints of the fathers, where there is no danger of stumbling or going astray. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Chairman, I shall not consume any of the short time allotted me in the discussion of the economic principles underlying this bill and its probable operation. On a former occasion I discussed those principles with more or less thoroughness upon this floor, and so, assuming them as premises generally agreed upon, I shall proceed at once to the consideration of the provisions of the particular bill under discussion. But it is futile to try to consider this bill, even, with any degree of completeness, within

the time set apart for its discussion. If every minute should be utilized as contemplated in the rule enforced here by the majority, there would be less than five minutes available for each member of the House as his proportionate share.

It will be impossible to do more in so limited a time than to attack a salient here and there, and then transfer the whole debate to that broader forum where the previous question does not operate and where no committee on rules is tolerated.

I am persuaded, Mr. Chairman, that this is the first time in the history of legislative procedure that a far-reaching financial measure, involving radical changes in the financial system of a people, has been thrust so suddenly upon a legislative body and forced to a passage within the brief space of one week.

And why this haste? Is there some great crisis impending in the financial world? Are our trade relations depressed because the gold standard has never been written in the statute books? Are our securities depreciating in the markets of the world because the word "gold" has not been written in the bond? Assuredly not. Neither the one nor any of these conditions prevail; there is absolutely nothing impending that is considered competent to justify legislative interference with the financial system of a country. On the contrary, there never was a moment in the history of our country, or in the history of any other country, when general monetary conditions and business relations were more satisfactory—if one accept as true one-half the boasts of enthusiastic gentlemen on the other side of the Chamber.

It is true that conditions are largely improved, and I congratulate the country that this is true. But it is equally true, Mr. Chairman, that the prosperity we enjoy is to a considerable extent fortuitous in origin and factitious in character. Misfortune and disaster in other parts of the world have opened those markets to the overflowing granaries of the West at good prices. The military operations of the United States for eighteen months past against Spain and the Philippines, together with the war in South Africa, have combined to create an enormous demand for material of all sorts that has kept our farms and factories alike busy at remunerative prices. Coincident with all this there comes a shortage in the cotton production unprecedented in the history of its culture; and while the bulk of the crop, as usual, had passed out of the hands of the farmers before the full scope of the shortage had been realized, still they have gotten a larger share of the advance than in former years.

So that, Mr. Chairman, there is a degree of general prosperity that is very gratifying to every American; but, as stated, it is of a fortuitous nature, and its origin lies wholly outside the agencies of the Republican party.

There is no pretense by the apologists for this measure that any immediate need of change exists. Why, then, is this bill here under such unusual circumstances?

Is the Republican party driven to it by its platform pledges?

Is it impelled by stress of its campaign pledges to bring this bill here at this time and in this way? Nay, verily. The platform pledges of that great organization in 1896 stood stoutly for bimetallism by international agreement; and the spokesmen for the party have again and again repudiated the insinuation that the party ever stood for the single gold standard.

Not only so, six and a half million American freemen went to the ballot box in 1896 and voted for Bryan and bimetallism without the agreement or consent of anybody; so that ninety-nine hundredths of American voters, in their latest expression upon the question, registered their voices for bimetallism of one sort or the other.

Whence, then, I repeat, comes the demand for this bill? According to the claims of the advocates of the measure there never was a time when the people at large were thinking or demanding less in respect to financial legislation. They are too busy reaping the results of prevailing prosperity, we are told, and that there is a certain factitious prosperity of the spotted variety, due to fortuitous circumstances utterly independent of parties or platforms, no one will deny. Who, then, is demanding this legislation?

Why demand it so insistently and force it with such precipitancy just at this time, when admittedly the attention of the people is momentarily diverted in other channels? Is there a method in this madness? The approaches of the gold standard proper to the goal of their desire have rarely ever been won by direct assault.

Their first great vantage was won in 1873 by methods that merit a harsher term than indirection. Under the guise of a codification of the coinage laws that year they dropped out the silver dollar, which had up to that time been specifically designated as the standard of value.

Their next great vantage was in the early days of the Fifty-fourth Congress, while the attention of the people was centered upon the tariff issue. We may not be able to locate, Mr. Chairman, the demand for such a measure as this, but we can all see at a glance to whose benefit it inures. The merest tyro in finance need not read far into its provisions to see in whose interest it is drawn.

Without entering upon a detailed analysis of its provisions—

there is no time for that—I proceed to state briefly my objections to the measure; and a casual glance will fully justify my contention, I think.

1. In the first place, I oppose it because it proposes to change the money of payment of our bonds without the consent of the people, who are a party to the contract. As they now read, the bonds of this Government are payable, both principal and interest, in coin, and coin under the terms of the Constitution includes both silver and gold. Here, then, is a proposition to strike out the money of payment, agreed upon beforehand by both parties, and substitute therefor a scarcer and supposedly more valuable money.

And the proposition is to do this unjust thing without any demand from the people—nay, more; it is proposed to do it without consulting the people or so much as saying "by your leave." Was there ever a more high-handed, a more impudent, assumption on the part of any political party intrusted for the time being with representative powers? Was there ever a more servile surrender of a people's rights at the hands of those who had sought and secured the confidence of that people upon pledges of a different tenor?

Think of it. The party whose proud boast in the past has been that it stood invariably for "great moral ideas;" that party deliberately changing the contract of the people who trusted them, to the enormous disadvantage of their confiding constituency! Changing the contract to the disadvantage of the people without the consent of the people, did I say? It is worse than that, Mr. Chairman. They are here proposing to change it in this bill in the face of distinct instructions to the contrary. Time and again have the representatives of the bond syndicates met the representatives of the American people and sought by open and by insidious means to get this precise thing done, and each time they have met decided and deserved rebuff.

Not even in the hour of national danger, not in the hour of national disaster, not in the throes of threatened national chaos did these shylocks relent or cease to press their demands. But not even in those dire extremities could a Congress be found so servile or so craven as to surrender the people's rights. Why, Mr. Chairman, the American people only a few years ago paid, or agreed to pay, in the aggregate, \$16,000,000 for the poor privilege of retaining the word coin in sixty-two and a half million bonds.

It was a distinct proposition, arising from the bond syndicate then enjoying the exclusive privilege of handling American securities. The representatives of the American people refused the proposition in the most emphatic terms, preferring to pay the difference in dollars rather than betray the trust of a confiding people and lay an ever-increasing burden upon future generations without the consent of the people themselves.

If the difference charged by the bond syndicate for the privilege of writing "coin" instead of "gold" in the bonds represents the real difference in their value, it is fair to assume that the same difference was exacted with reference to the other outstanding coin bonds of the Government; and upon the same basis that difference would be in the neighborhood of \$240,000,000.

If this bill becomes law it will be tantamount to giving this enormous difference to the bondholders as a bonus and at the same time give them all they demanded in the first instance—they will get the difference and the thing for which the difference was paid.

It means more than this, however. It means fastening upon the present generation and upon posterity an additional burden that will grow with a steadily accelerating velocity as the days go by, and as the production of gold fails to keep pace with steadily increasing demands laid upon it—a burden, Mr. Chairman, that must be paid ultimately by productive industry in farm and forge and factory. Mr. Chairman it is inconceivable that a great party which has been trusted by the people of this country could be found willing to impose that burden under any circumstances, least of all to impose it without the consent expressly granted of the people.

2. In the second place, I oppose this bill because it is essentially a measure of contraction. Its ultimate and inevitable effect will be to contract the volume of currency by just so much as the amount of the greenbacks outstanding. That is to say, that there will be a speedy and inevitable subtraction of \$346,000,000 from the volume of currency now outstanding.

It is bound to be so. There is no escape. Under the terms of the bill gold dollars must be paid out whenever these greenbacks are presented at the Treasury. And under the terms of the bill, also, these greenbacks must stay in the Treasury until an equal number of gold dollars are locked up in their place. Under existing conditions both gold and greenbacks are in circulation simultaneously. Under the terms of this bill when the gold is out the greenbacks must be in; when the greenbacks are out the gold must be in. And yet gentlemen on the other side deny that this means contraction; and, be it observed, contraction means distress, low prices for farm products—it means stagnation of business, paralysis of trade. Not only so, but if, as may easily happen, the gold

so paid out for greenbacks is shipped abroad, there will be a contraction of the volume of the circulation equal to double the greenbacks so redeemed. Conditions favorable to the export of gold may occur at any time; they are most liable to occur when the demands for money in this country are most urgent. But this is not all. Under subsequent sections of the bill it is easy to see that those conditions may be produced artificially at any time by cooperation of the banks of this country and through them the banks of the world.

Mr. Chairman, there has never been a time in the history of the world when, in my judgment, there was too much money in circulation. On the other hand, the field of history is strewn from end to end with wreck and ruin and starvation and desperation by the inordinate stringency of money. Hence, I am disposed to resist with all the energy and ability I possess any measure that even makes possible a contraction of our circulating medium.

This much of contraction is, in my judgment, as certain and fixed as the all-pervading law of cause and effect—contraction to the amount of the greenbacks outstanding, at the least. There is good reason to believe, however, that the silver currency and silver certificates might be used to the same purpose should the shifting values of international exchange make it worth while for the speculative cliques of the country to collect the subsidiary coin and silver certificates and take them to the Treasury for redemption.

But pass this; there remains the unquestioned and necessary contraction by the amount of the greenbacks; and this in its ultimate result means \$346,000,000 less money, at the very least estimate, available for purposes of trade and for the handling of the great staple crops of our country.

3. And not only so, but under the terms of the bill a further contraction is made possible by the surrender of bonds held for circulation of national banks. These banks may, by concert of action, in a day withdraw these bonds down to the minimum limit, lock up these notes, and thus contract the volume of currency to an alarming degree. Suppose such contraction should take place at the time when the cotton crop was to be marketed, or the wheat crop. Does anyone doubt what the effect would be upon the price of those commodities? And this dangerous power is intrusted, under this bill, in the hands of the banks, the very class of people whose interest is supposed to lie in the direction of tight money, which means dear money; which in turn means cheap labor, cheap products of labor.

4. Only one other feature of this extraordinary bill will I call attention to at this time. That is the extraordinary power vested by its terms in the Secretary of the Treasury. Do gentlemen on the other side realize what the issue of bonds means? It means a mortgage upon posterity; a mortgage means interest to pay; interest to pay means taxes to pay. And so it comes to pass that under this bill the power to tax is vested, in the last analysis, in one man—a power hitherto religiously guarded and reserved by an unbroken line of precedents and traditions in the people themselves alone. Mr. Chairman, we can not afford, in my judgment, to surrender that power into the keeping of any man, be he never so wise and honest and true to the traditions of our past.

Too much patriotic blood has been poured out in wresting that power of taxation from the hand of despotism and safeguarding it as the exclusive and inalienable prerogative of the people.

Mr. Chairman, there is one redeeming feature about these proceedings—only one. When the roll shall be called next Monday it will be essentially a vote of lack of confidence in the reelection of William McKinley. It can have no other significance in the light of the declarations of the Republican leaders on this floor. They claim that the country is on the gold basis to-day and has been for the past three years, by the grace of God and of William McKinley.

If this be true, is it not equally true that the gold standard is safe so long as William McKinley remains in the Presidential chair? If you are confident in the reelection of Mr. McKinley, why safeguard the gold standard by legislation on the eve of the election? This extraordinary precaution on your part can have but one meaning, and that is a lack of confidence in the result of the election next year. [Loud applause on the Democratic side.]

[Mr. TALBERT addressed the committee. See Appendix.]

On motion of Mr. OVERSTREET, the committee rose; and the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. FARIS) having resumed the chair, Mr. HEPBURN, chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, reported that that committee had had under consideration House bill No. 1, and had come to no resolution thereon.

On motion of Mr. OVERSTREET (at 10 o'clock and 15 minutes p. m.), the House adjourned until to-morrow at 11 o'clock a. m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of Rule XXIV, the following executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

A letter from the Librarian of Congress, in relation to a library

of reference at the Capitol—to the Committee on Rules, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, recommending an additional appropriation for the Light-House Service—to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, in relation to establishing depositories of public money in islands under administration of the United States—to the Committee on Insular Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

PUBLIC BILLS, RESOLUTIONS, AND MEMORIALS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 3 of Rule XXII, bills, resolutions, and memorials of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. HULL: A bill (H. R. 4152) to extend the time for examination of monthly accounts by bureaus and offices of the War Department—passed the House.

By Mr. WILSON of Arizona: A bill (H. R. 4153) to provide for extra pay to officers and enlisted men belonging to companies and regiments of United States Volunteers—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. NEVILLE: A bill (H. R. 4154) to provide for the purchase of a site for a public building in the city of Kearney, in the State of Nebraska, and for other purposes—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. ADAMSON: A bill (H. R. 4155) to amend section 3296 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, and for other purposes—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. METCALF: A bill (H. R. 4156) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the adjudication and payment of claims arising from Indian depredations," approved March 3, 1891—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4157) fixing times when, regulating the manner in which, and declaring the character of the accounts between the United States and the several public-land States, relative to the net proceeds of the sales and other disposition of the public lands made and to be made therein by the United States, which shall hereafter be stated and certified to the Treasury Department for payment—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi: A bill (H. R. 4158) to refer the treaty rights of Mississippi Choctaws for adjudication—to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. WILSON of Arizona: A bill (H. R. 4159) to enable the people of Arizona to form a constitution and State government and to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States—to the Committee on the Territories.

By Mr. TALBERT: A bill (H. R. 4160) to amend an act entitled "An act to credit and pay to the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia all moneys collected under the direct tax levied by act of Congress approved August 5, 1861," approved March 2, 1891—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WEAVER: A bill (H. R. 4161) providing for an addition to the public building at Springfield, Ohio—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. MILLER: A bill (H. R. 4162) to appropriate the sum of \$100,000 to erect a public building at Emporia, Kans.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. ACHESON: A bill (H. R. 4163) providing for the employment of letter carriers at every post-office which produced a gross revenue for the preceding fiscal year of not less than \$1,900—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. KITCHIN: A bill (H. R. 4164) to amend the war-revenue act reducing the tax on tobacco, and requiring telegraph companies to pay the stamp tax on messages and dispatches—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SPALDING: A bill (H. R. 4165) to provide for the erection of a public building in the city of Grand Forks, N. Dak.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4166) providing for the selection of the lands within Fort Pembina Military Reservation, N. Dak., by the State of North Dakota—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4167) to authorize the construction of a bridge across the Red River of the North at Drayton, N. Dak.—to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BARNEY: A bill (H. R. 4168) for the erection of a public building at Waukesha, Wis.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. GAMBLE: A bill (H. R. 4169) to provide for the time and place of holding the terms of the United States circuit and district courts in the State of South Dakota—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOWARD: A bill (H. R. 4170) for the erection of a post-office building at Athens, Ga.—to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

By Mr. TALBERT: A bill (H. R. 4305) to provide for the erec-

tion of a monument to the memory of Travis, Bonham, Bowie, and Butler for gallantry and heroism during the Mexican war—to the Committee on the Library.

By Mr. JONES of Washington: A bill (H. R. 4337) extending the homestead laws to soldiers of the Spanish war and in the Philippines—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. BOUTELLE of Maine: A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 77) to provide for pay to certain retired officers of the Marine Corps—to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi: A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 78) to amend the Constitution of the United States in relation to income and succession taxes—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

Also, a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 79) to declare our policy in the Philippine Islands—to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BOUTELLE of Maine: A resolution (H. Res. 42) authorizing the Committee on Naval Affairs to appoint an assistant clerk during the Fifty-sixth Congress—to the Committee on Accounts.

Also, a resolution (H. Res. 43) authorizing the Committee on Naval Affairs to have printed and bound such papers and documents as are necessary during the Fifty-sixth Congress—to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi: A resolution (H. Res. 44) concerning our relations with the Philippine Islands, and especially with Sulu and its so-called Sultan—to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

By Mr. GLYNN: A resolution (H. Res. 45) paying tribute to the memory of Prof. Joseph Henry, deceased, in honor of the centennial of his birth, on account of his discoveries leading to the invention of the telegraph, his services as the first secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and his work for twenty years as Chairman of the United States Government Light-House Board—to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WILSON of Arizona: A memorial of the legislature of the Territory of Arizona, relating to the feasibility of building a dam across the Gila River at Buttes, in Arizona—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the Territory of Arizona, praying that Arizona Territory be speedily admitted to statehood—to the Committee on the Territories.

Also, a memorial of the legislature of the Territory of Arizona, favoring an increase in the salary provided and paid to members of the legislative assembly—to the Committee on the Territories.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, private bills and resolutions of the following titles were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ACHESON: A bill (H. R. 4171) granting a pension to Mrs. Kate J. Krepps, of West Brownsville, Washington County, Pa.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4172) to correct the military record of Allen Hyatt, of Connellsville, Pa.—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BUTLER: A bill (H. R. 4173) referring the claim of William H. Diamond, of Chester, Pa., for damages for personal injuries sustained, to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. BROWNLOW: A bill (H. R. 4174) for the relief of Thomas J. Powell—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. BARBER: A bill (H. R. 4175) granting a pension to Catharine Bowden—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BAKER: A bill (H. R. 4176) for relief of James H. Andrews—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BARNEY: A bill (H. R. 4177) to correct the military record of William Elkert—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BAILEY of Kansas: A bill (H. R. 4178) granting an increase of pension to Hugh Brady, of Yates Center, Kans.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. BRENNER: A bill (H. R. 4179) granting a pension to Henry B. Lambe—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. COONEY: A bill (H. R. 4180) granting an increase of pension to A. J. Pickett—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4181) to grant William Fitch a pension—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4182) to pension Daniel L. Mallicoat—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4183) to remove charge of desertion from service record of John B. Ackerson—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4184) to correct the service record of Joseph Baier—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CROWLEY: A bill (H. R. 4185) granting increase of pension to Russian Blair—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4186) granting a pension to Melvina Buckler—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4187) granting pension to the heirs of James F. Cassatt—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4188) granting a pension to Mary A. Dickson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4189) granting a pension to Emma M. Elliott—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4190) to increase Elizabeth A. Swan's pension to \$17 per month, as widow of Thomas C. Swan, second lieutenant Company K, One hundred and twenty-ninth Indiana Volunteers—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4191) to pension Sarah E. Haynes, widow of William Haynes, Company G, Seventy-third Ohio, of East Prairie, Mo., formerly Paris, Ill.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4192) to pension James Foltz—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4193) to pension Levi C. Mann—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4194) granting a pension to John W. Spiers, an army nurse, and so forth, at \$12 per month—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4195) to increase the pension of Harrison Kilburn—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4196) granting increase of pension to Pleasant Umfleet—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4197) to remove charge of desertion of William Martin—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4198) to grant a pension to Susan Jane Brewer—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4199) granting increase of pension to Gabriel M. Funk—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CANNON: A bill (H. R. 4200) to increase the pension of Shelton Flaningam—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4201) for the relief of Ira C. McClenthen—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CHICKERING: A bill (H. R. 4202) to correct the relative rank of Edson A. Lewis, captain, Eighteenth Infantry—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CORLISS: A bill (H. R. 4203) to increase the pension of Alexander G. Hunt—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4204) to correct the military record of George A. Winslow—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. CURTIS: A bill (H. R. 4205) granting a pension to Daniel W. Boutwell—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4206) granting pension to Mary A. Wampler—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4207) for the relief of George W. Brown—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4208) granting a pension to Joseph Fipps—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4209) granting a pension to Thomas B. Roark—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4210) for the relief of Charles H. Wilson—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4211) granting a pension to Rosa L. Couch, of Leavenworth, Kans.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4212) granting a pension to J. W. Phillips—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4213) granting pension to Josiah C. Ury—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4214) for the relief of Peter D. Staats—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4215) for the relief of James Gillice—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4216) for the relief of John W. Stevens—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4217) granting an increase of pension to Michael Diguon—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4218) granting a pension to Anna King—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4219) for the relief of Horace L. Dunlap—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4220) for the relief of Norman C. Webster—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4221) for the relief of W. H. Fisher—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4222) granting a pension of \$50 per month to Hester A. Hanback—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4223) for the relief of Thomas F. Cook—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4224) granting a pension to Betty Elmore—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4225) for the relief of Rosa L. Couch—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. FREER: A bill (H. R. 4226) for the relief of James Crosson—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4227) for the relief of John Parsons—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4228) for the relief of John Francis, Point Pleasant, W. Va.—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4229) to grant an honorable discharge to Lewis Goodrich—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. FORDNEY: A bill (H. R. 4230) to grant a pension to Charles Farmer—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4231) to grant a pension to Maechel Ryan, alias Kennedy, Company F, One hundred and eighty-seventh New York Infantry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4232) to increase the pension of Phillip Volkner, Company C, Twenty-ninth Michigan Infantry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4233) for the relief of Emma M. Deal—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4234) to amend the record of Ludwig C. Huebner—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4235) for the relief of William Dumond—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4236) for the relief of Sarah J. Winas—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4237) for the relief of Erasmus O. Loukes, Company I, Sixteenth New York Infantry—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GILL: A bill (H. R. 4238) to correct the military record of Clinton G. Harris—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4239) for the relief of Jonathan Milburn—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4240) for the relief of Mary E. V. Jones, widow of Col. James A. Jones, Twenty-fifth Ohio Volunteer Infantry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4241) granting a pension to Alverdie Rush—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4242) granting a pension to William W. Mansfield, late Company B, Thirteenth Ohio Cavalry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HOWARD: A bill (H. R. 4243) for the relief of Martha Strickland, widow of William Strickland—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. JONES of Washington: A bill (H. R. 4244) for the relief of John T. Heffernan—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4245) for the relief of J. J. L. Peel—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. KLUTTZ (by request): A bill (H. R. 4246) for relief of John W. Gray—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. KERR: A bill (H. R. 4247) granting a pension to Francis S. Wolfe—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LYBRAND: A bill (H. R. 4248) granting a pension to Benjamin Meredith, Company B, One hundred and thirty-second Ohio Volunteer Infantry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4249) granting increase of pension to Richard Milliner, Company F, Fifty-fourth Ohio Volunteer Infantry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4250) granting increase of pension to Show Hinebaugh, Company G, Eighty-second Ohio Volunteer Infantry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4251) granting a pension to William R. Hughes, late captain Company E, Twenty-third Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. LAMB: A bill (H. R. 4252) granting a pension to Rosabelle McAuthur—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4253) granting a pension to Mary F. Wolard—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4254) for the relief of Jane Womack—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4255) for the relief of the trustees of Enon Baptist Church, Chesterfield County, Va.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4256) for the relief of the estate of William B. Todd, deceased—to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4257) for the relief of Mary S. Graves—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. METCALF: A bill (H. R. 4258) referring the claim of Robert W. Dunbar to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4259) for the relief of William R. Wheaton and Charles H. Chamberlain, of California—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4260) for the relief of Arthur L. Fish, of California—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4261) for the relief of J. W. Leigh, of California—to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. MIERS of Indiana: A bill (H. R. 4262) granting a pension to Catherine E. Lane—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4263) granting an increase of pension to Cook Burk—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4264) granting an increase of pension to Richard Hembree—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4265) granting an increase of pension to James Gowan—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4266) for the relief of Jacob McMillen—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. NEVILLE: A bill (H. R. 4267) granting an increase of pension to Ezra A. Bennett, of Basin, in the State of Nebraska—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4268) granting a pension to William C. Couch, of Sidney, in the State of Nebraska—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RAY of New York: A bill (H. R. 4269) for the relief of Louis I. Seymour—to the Committee on Appropriations.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4270) granting a pension to Martin V. B. Cartwright—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4271) granting an increase of pension to Henry J. Sperry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. RIXEY (by request): A bill (H. R. 4272) for the relief of Mrs. L. E. Adams, heir at law of R. J. Edelin, deceased—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4273) for the relief of W. L. B. Wheeler, of Prince William County, Va.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also (by request), a bill (H. R. 4274) for relief of W. W. Derry, of Loudoun County, Va.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. ROBERTS of Massachusetts: A bill (H. R. 4275) for the relief of the Atlantic Works, of Boston, Mass.—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. SAMUEL W. SMITH: A bill (H. R. 4276) granting a pension to John R. Eggeman—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4277) granting a pension to George W. Mower—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4278) granting an increase of pension to William W. Minturn—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4279) granting a pension to Sarah A. Morrison—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4280) granting an increase of pension to Henry O. Briggs—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4281) granting an increase of pension to Stephen P. Choate—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4282) granting a pension to Freddie Gassmeier, dependent son of Martin Gassmeier, deceased—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4283) granting a pension to Huldah A. Bowen—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4284) granting a pension to Persis Barnard—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4285) granting a pension to Hila Ann Connor—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4286) granting an increase of pension to Andrew F. Dinsmore—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4287) to correct the military record of Henry Berry—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4288) to correct the military record of John Bishop—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4289) to correct the military record of Harrison Ferguson—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4290) to correct the military record of Wesley B. Coon—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4291) to correct the military record of Richard H. Marsh—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4292) for the relief of Clark G. Russell—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4293) to correct the military record of Lewis F. Morgan—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4294) to amend the military record of Capt. A. M. Dobbelaire—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4295) for the relief of Abraham D. Cudney—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4296) to correct the military record of William Cooper—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SULZER: A bill (H. R. 4297) for the relief of Cynthia A. Wood, as executrix, and Charles S. Wood, as executor, of the last will and testament of Charles Squire Wood, deceased, late of the city of New York—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. SUTHERLAND: A bill (H. R. 4298) granting an increase of pension to John M. McCord—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. STEVENS of Minnesota: A bill (H. R. 4299) to correct the military record of Reese P. Peoples—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4300) granting a pension to Jerusha Sturgis, widow of Brig. Gen. Samuel D. Sturgis—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4301) for the relief of Jeremiah Sullivan from the charge of desertion—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4302) for the relief of Lieut. Col. Edward Simonon—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SPALDING: A bill (H. R. 4303) for the relief of the heirs of Aaron Van Camp and Virginius P. Chapin—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. TOMPKINS: A bill (H. R. 4304) to reimburse John Waller, postmaster at Monticello, N. Y., for moneys expended in carrying the mail—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi: A bill (H. R. 4306) for the relief of Leroy B. Wilkins, of Scott County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4307) for the relief of John F. Byars, of Newton County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4308) for the relief of Margaret Champion, of Scott County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4309) for the relief of David K. Patterson, of Scott County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4310) for relief of estate of Samuel Heard, of Scott County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4311) for the relief of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, of Phoenix, Yazoo County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4312) for the relief of Franklin Sessions—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4313) for the relief of Mrs. Susan Davis, of Mississippi—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4314) for the relief of estate of P. M. M. Alexander, of Holmes County, Miss.—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4315) for the relief of the estate of J. J. Galtney, deceased, late of Yazoo County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4316) for the relief of Caroline V. English—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4317) for the relief of H. J. Thornton, of Scott County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4318) for relief of Daniel S. Miller, of Jasper County, Miss.—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4319) for the relief of John D. Ryan, of Meridian, Miss.—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4320) for relief of Samuel Whitman, sr., of Enterprise, Clarke County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4321) for relief of estate of John Dear, deceased, of Attala County, Miss.—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4322) for relief of John L. McClendon—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. WILSON of South Carolina: A bill (H. R. 4323) for the relief of Eugenia A. Stone—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4324) for the relief of George W. Croft and others—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. WATERS: A bill (H. R. 4325) granting a pension to Mary A. Smith—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4326) granting an increase of pension to Elizabeth Dodge—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. BURKE of Texas: A bill (H. R. 4327) for the relief of David R. Watson, alias John R. Williams, alias Francis Williams—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4328) to grant a pension to Alfred Stokes, late a guide for General Palmer—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4329) to grant a pension to Mrs. Jemima Mills, widow of Richard Mills, a soldier in the Indian wars of 1836—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4330) to grant a pension to Dimple Thurman, the blind and afflicted daughter of John Thurman, deceased, a pensioner and veteran of the Mexican war—to the Committee on Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4331) to grant a pension to Isaac Gibson, late a major, Sixth Illinois Cavalry—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. CORLISS: A bill (H. R. 4332) to remove charge of desertion against Theodore F. Looker—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. BABCOCK (by request): A bill (H. R. 4333) for the relief of William C. Dodge—to the Committee on Claims.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4334) granting an increase of pension to Franklin Snyder—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, a bill (H. R. 4335) granting a pension to Sarah Robinson, guardian of William H. Edmonds, helpless and idiotic minor of Joseph C. Edmonds—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. HITT: A bill (H. R. 4336) for the relief of Sarah E. McCaleb—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. JONES of Virginia: A bill (H. R. 4338) for the relief of Hyland C. Kirk and others, assignees of Addison C. Fletcher—to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, the following petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

By Mr. BELLAMY: Petition of the heirs of Jacob Watkins, of Richmond County, N. C., praying for reference of his war claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, petition of the heirs of Henry Clarke, of Richmond County, N. C., praying reference of his war claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, petition of the heirs of James McPherson, of Richmond County, N. C., praying reference of his war claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, petition of the heirs of George W. Cole, of Richmond County, N. C., praying reference of his war claim to the Court of Claims—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. CROWLEY: Papers to accompany House bill granting an increase of pension to Pleasant Umfleet—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, paper to accompany House bill for an increase of pension to Gabriel M. Funk—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers in support of House bill for the relief of Susan Jane Brewer—to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. CURTIS: Petitions of William Wallis and others, Hunter Neill and others, J. D. Cawthon and others, and R. C. Miller and others, of the State of Kansas, favoring a service-pension bill—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GAMBLE: Petition of the State Dairymen and Butter Makers' Association of South Dakota, favoring the passage of a law taxing colored oleomargarine—to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. GRAHAM: Letter of Jos. L. Friedman, secretary of the Cigar Leaf Tobacco Board of Trade of the United States, urging the passage of a bill in the interest of the leaf-tobacco industry—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HITT: Papers to accompany House bill No. 440, for the relief of Moses M. Longley—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, papers to accompany House bill No. 4067, to correct the military record of Patrick Cassidy—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, papers to accompany House bill for the relief of Sarah E. McCaleb—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. MIERS of Indiana: Paper to accompany House bill for the relief of Jeremiah Lockwood—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers to accompany House bill to increase the pension of James Gowan—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers to accompany House bill granting a pension to William Burch—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, papers to accompany House bill for the relief of Richard Hembree—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. OVERSTREET: Papers to accompany House bill No. 2204, for the relief of William O. Eagle—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. RIXEY: Paper to accompany House bill relating to the claim of W. W. Derry—to the Committee on War Claims.

By Mr. WILSON of South Carolina: Paper to accompany House bill for the relief of Mrs. Eugenia A. Stone—to the Committee on War Claims.

Also, paper to accompany House bill for the relief of G. W. Croft—to the Committee on War Claims.

Petitions, etc., against the seating of Brigham H. Roberts as a Representative from Utah were laid on the Clerk's desk and severally referred to the Special Committee on the B. H. Roberts Case, as follows:

By Mr. BAKER: Petitions of the Wilmington Methodist Episcopal Conference and numerous citizens of the Second Congressional district of Maryland.

By Mr. BROSIUS: Petition of citizens of Columbia, Lancaster County, Pa.

By Mr. BUTLER: Petitions of the Christian Endeavor societies of New London and of Chester County Methodist Episcopal Church, of Spring City, and others.

By Mr. CURTIS: Petitions of S. A. Johnson, W. H. Doole, C. H. Wareham, Mrs. J. D. Hewitt, and many other citizens of Kansas.

By Mr. CRAWFORD: Petition of James Wild and other citizens of the Ninth Congressional district of North Carolina.

By Mr. DOVENER: Petition of J. P. Berry and 198 citizens of Braxton County, W. Va.

By Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania: Petition of Olivet Presbyterian Church, of Reading, Pa.

By Mr. HALL: Petitions of M. M. George, C. S. Smith, J. B. Kast, J. C. Young, William Laurie, G. A. Smith, R. M. Foster, H. F. Means, Mrs. R. C. Wright, and others, and resolution of the Presbytery of Northumberland, all in the State of Pennsylvania.

By Mr. HULL: Petition of L. H. Pammel, Fred Stevens, and others of the Seventh Congressional district of Iowa.

By Mr. JONES of Washington: Petition of the Christian Church of Pomeroy, Wash.

By Mr. ROBINSON of Indiana: Petition of Rev. W. H. Keyer and numerous other citizens of Fremont, Ind.

By Mr. SMALL: Petitions of A. G. Cox and 50 citizens of Pitt County; George T. Simmons and 23 citizens of Beaufort County, N. C.

SENATE.

FRIDAY, December 15, 1899.

Prayer by Rev. LUCIEN CLARK, D. D., of the city of Washington. The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings; when, on motion of Mr. GALLINGER, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Journal, without objection, will stand approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had agreed to the concurrent resolution of the Senate authorizing the Secretary of War to print, in excess of 1,000 copies authorized by the act of January 12, 1895, 5,000 copies of the annual report of Maj. Gen. E. S. Otis, United States Volunteers, commanding the Department of the Pacific and Eighth Army Corps and military governor in the Philippines, dated August 31, 1899.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 4152) to extend the time for examination of monthly accounts by bureaus and offices of the War Department; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had passed a joint resolution (H. J. Res. 80) to pay the officers and employees of the Senate and House of Representatives their respective salaries for the month of December, 1899, on the 19th day of said month; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY.

Mr. HALE. There evidently would be no quorum of the Senate present to-morrow, and I move that when the Senate adjourn to-day it be to meet on Monday next.

The motion was agreed to.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. PERKINS presented a memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of Sacramento, Cal., remonstrating against any reduction of the tariff on citrus fruits; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of Fresno, Cal., remonstrating against any reduction in the tariff by proposed treaties or otherwise on California products; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Sierra Club, of San Francisco, Cal., praying for the adoption of a system for the leasing of portions of the public domain in the interests of water conservation and supply; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Mr. McMILLAN presented the petition of John B. Penfield and sundry other citizens of Vicksburg, Mich., praying for the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit polygamy; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. BAKER presented the petition of S. R. Shepherd and sundry other citizens of Leavenworth, Kans., praying that Mary Irene Rosenthal, of that city, be granted an increase of pension of \$20 per month; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. GEAR presented a petition of sundry letter carriers of Burlington, Iowa, praying for the enactment of legislation regulating the salaries of letter carriers; which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. FRYE presented the petition of M. F. Sturtevant and 27 other citizens of Maine, praying for the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit polygamy; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

RETURN OF CANNON, BANNERS, ETC., TO MEXICO.

Mr. TELLER presented a petition of the legislature of Colorado, praying for the return to the Republic of Mexico of cannon, banners, and other trophies captured by the United States forces during the war between the United States and Mexico; which